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THE PILGRIMAGE OF  
ARNOLD VON HARFF

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THE PILGRIMAGE  
OF  
ARNOLD VON HARFF  
KNIGHT

*from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia,  
Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain,  
which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499*

*Translated from the German  
and edited with notes and an introduction*

by  
MALCOLM LETTS, F.S.A.

LONDON  
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY  
1946



## PREFACE

**T**his work was commenced and finished during the stress of war, for the most part in what Dr. Johnson calls 'sudden snatches'. Several problems remain unsolved, particularly as to some of von Harff's sources. I do not think that a collation of the various manuscripts would have been worth while, even if it had been possible. Von Groote, the first editor, did his work well. His text was based on three manuscripts, and my aim has been simply to provide an English translation of a text which has been accepted without question by German scholars and others for more than eighty years, and to elucidate the narrative as best I could. I had hoped to be able to reproduce von Harff's sketches from the original drawings instead of from von Groote's woodcuts, but that would have delayed publication indefinitely, and the drawings, although attractive and valuable as examples of contemporary costume, are of secondary importance.

I have had many helpers. Dr. Lynam, our President, Sir William Foster, our former President, and Mr. Edward Heawood have advised and encouraged me from the first. To Mr. E. S. de Beer a special debt is due. He not only read the translation and notes of the part relating to Rome, but it was he who identified the Pilgrim-book of 1489, from which von Harff appears to have copied his descriptions of the Roman churches. I must also express my thanks to Sir George Hill, Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender, Dr. Charles ffoulkes, Mr. R. A. Skelton and Miss L. Drucker for advice and assistance, to the Schools of Oriental and African Studies, and Slavonic and East European Studies for help with von Harff's vocabularies, and, last but not least, to my wife who has helped me with the laborious task of proof-reading and checking. Mr. A. H. Carrington has been good enough to make the index.

MALCOLM LETTS



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## INTRODUCTION

**A**rnold von Harff, the author of the travels now first translated into English, was born towards the end of 1471 and was the second son of Daem (Adam) von Harff, a nobleman of considerable position at the court of the Dukes of Jülich and Gelders, whose ancestral seat was at Harff a.d. Erft, near Cologne.<sup>1</sup> We know nothing of the early life and up-bringing of the young man, but that he was a youth of courage and determination, endowed with a shrewdness beyond his years and an ability to discriminate and observe, is clear from his book. He set out on his pilgrimage in November 1496, at the age of twenty-five, and returned to Cologne in October or November 1499. Travelling through Germany and Italy, he sailed from Venice for Alexandria, visited Cairo and Mt. Sinai, crossed the deserts of Arabia by camel, embarked at Aden for Socotra and (if this part of his story is to be believed) visited India, Madagascar, and East and Central Africa. He claims to have climbed the Mountains of the Moon, to have discovered the source of the Nile, and to have followed its course down to Cairo. He then explored the Holy Land, penetrated into Asia Minor, visited Constantinople, and returned overland to Europe. He next visited Compostella and made his way back, via Paris and the Low Countries, to Cologne. I shall have more to say about his itinerary later on, but this is the rough outline.

A journey such as this can only have been undertaken by a man of fortune, and indeed the family seems to have been richly endowed. On his return, von Harff's possessions were increased by purchase and inheritance. An uncle made over to him the castle of Nierhoven, close to Lövenich, and other

<sup>1</sup> Leonard Korth, 'Die Reisen des Ritters Arnold von Harff in Arabien, Indien und Ost-Africa,' *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 1883. v. pp. 191-219; 1884, vi. pp. 339-40.

estates fell to him on his father's death. There is little more to record. In 1504 he married Margarethe von dem Bongart. About this time he succeeded his uncle as hereditary chamberlain at the court of Gelders, but he did not fill the office for long. He died in 1505 and was buried in the church at Lövenich, near Aachen, in a tomb adorned with 32 coats of arms (G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 2nd ed., 1928, v. p. 315). His widow bore him a posthumous daughter, who died in infancy and was buried in the same grave.

Von Harff dedicated his book to Duke William of Jülich and his wife Sibylla, and it seems to have been widely circulated in manuscript. It was first printed by Dr. E. von Groote in 1860, with woodcuts of the lively little drawings which accompany the text.<sup>1</sup> The editor supplied an introduction and glossary, but no notes, and he expressed no opinion as to the genuineness of the travels in the East, but the text is well edited from three manuscripts. The work does not appear to have been reprinted.

The *Pilgrimage* was first noticed by Hartzheim (*Bibliotheca Coloniensis*, 1747, p. 328), where two manuscripts are mentioned, one in the castle of Dreiborn, the other in the Jesuit College at Düsseldorf. This latter manuscript, which is described in some detail by Hartzheim, was not to be found when Groote printed the text, but in 1883 it was in the Stadtbibliothek at Trier (L.N. 1938, St. N. 1582). It is written on 146 pp. of quarto paper, and dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. There are no pictures (Korth, p. 339). Two further manuscripts are mentioned by Bärsch (*Eiflia Illustrata*, 1829, II. pt. I, p. 148), one in the library at Blankenheim (later probably at Trier; the other was, in the seventeenth century, in private ownership at Münster i/W, but both seem now to have disappeared (Korth, p. 195). The three manuscripts used by Groote were in the possession of the von Harff family. To these must now be added further codices at Castle Neuhaus in Bavaria (fifteenth century, with coloured illustrations), in the University Library at Bonn, the Hofbibliothek at Darmstadt (seventeenth century), and the University Library at Giessen (Korth, p. 195; Röhrich-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach*

<sup>1</sup> *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, Cologne, 1860.

*dem heiligen Lande*, 1880, p. 578, No. 184). In all some ten manuscripts seem to have survived. My translation has been made from Groote's edition, and, as access to the manuscripts is now impossible (even if they are still in existence), the illustrations have been reproduced from Groote's woodcuts.

The manuscripts used by Groote, which he calls *A*, *B* and *C* were all in the possession of the von Harff family. *A* is written on 152 pages in small folio, in a late fifteenth-century hand. The drawings seem to be contemporary with the text. It is not, according to Groote, in the author's handwriting. The manuscript has evidently been much used. Some pages are loose and dirty. Folio 68 and one drawing are missing. The binding is wood, covered with leather, and the covers have metal corners and clasps. *B* is some fifty years later. It is written on 148 pages with illuminated capitals, but the drawings show some deterioration. The manuscript is well preserved and, in format and binding, is not unlike *A*. On the inner cover is an engraving of the arms of the Bourscheidt auf Burgbroel family, which was closely related to the house of von Harff, with a Latin inscription (printed by Groote). *C* has 142 pages and dates from the end of the sixteenth century. It is written in cursive script and the drawings are freer and more highly coloured than in *B*. *C* contains some details about the church of St. Denis at Paris which are not in *A* or *B*. All three manuscripts are fully described, with their watermarks, by Groote, pp. VII, VIII.

Groote's edition aroused considerable interest in Germany, and the book has been used freely in that country by writers on history, geography, travel and commerce. Heyd, who wrote the notice of von Harff in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, made great use of the book in his *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, for von Harff has much to say about trade with the Near East. But outside Germany the book has not been much used, possibly on account of the language in which it is written—a dialect of the Lower Rhine. My attempt to produce a readable and, at the same time, a sufficiently literal translation has not been easy, but I hope that the book will now become better known to English readers.

Von Harff's credibility has been both attacked and defended

in his own country. No one who has studied the *Pilgrimage* with any care can close his eyes to the fact that von Harff cannot have visited all the countries he describes. On the other hand it is impossible to dismiss him out of hand as a deliberate liar. His whole character, as disclosed in his book, is against it, for his honesty, simplicity and engaging frankness are apparent throughout. After pondering every word of the book, as only a translator can, it is clear to me that von Harff did not visit India, Madagascar, or Central Africa, still less did he climb the Mountains of the Moon or discover the source of the Nile. I think von Harff may have visited the island of Socotra—if not he must have obtained very accurate information at Aden—and as to the Arabian episode I am disposed to give him the benefit of the doubt. It is possible that when he sat down to compile his narrative he was plagued with questions about the East, the Garden of Eden, the situation of Paradise, the source of the Nile, the country of Prester John, and the strange beings and creatures to be found there, and he could not bring himself to disappoint his public. I attach great importance to his meeting with the Ambassador from the great ruler of India at Cairo (p. 132). I think this meeting set his imagination at work and turned his thoughts to the East, to India and Prester John, and the shrine of the Apostle St. Thomas at Mackeron, but the journey was too difficult and he had to supply the details from other sources. With the help of Marco Polo, Odoric, Mandeville and Ptolemy there would be no difficulty in filling in the gaps. It must be remembered that no medieval travel book was complete without some account of strange human beings and marvellous creatures. Odoric was not printed until 1513, but was widely read in manuscript. There were German editions of Marco Polo in 1477 and 1481. Six German translations of Mandeville were printed before 1499, and that von Harff made frequent use of Mandeville is beyond doubt. What is very striking is the similarity between this part of the journey and Waldseemüller's map of 1507. Von Harff died in 1505 so he cannot have used this map, but the resemblance is too marked to be accidental (see p. 156 ff.). In his book on Behaim (p. 70) Ravenstein speaks of Behaim as having access to earlier sources,

particularly the library of the famous Johann Müller of Königsberg (Regiomontanus, d. 1476), who was at the time of his death engaged on a revised edition of Ptolemy. It may well be that some such source was available both to von Harff and Waldseemüller, and that both worked on some earlier map or maps which cannot now be found. It is possible also that von Harff's manuscript was known to Waldseemüller. That it—or some common source—was available to Mercator seems clear from his World Chart of 1569, for he places von Harff's mysterious Kobalhar in the Mountains of the Moon, and shows many of the places noted by von Harff in his Nile journey in the same order (see p. 173 and note 1).

I come now to the itinerary. The traveller crossed into Italy by the Reschen-Scheideck Pass and reached Rome during Lent 1497, by way of Verona, Bologna, Pisa, Florence and Siena. The route is the ordinary pilgrim route given in such books as Wey, Brewyn and *The Information for Pilgrims*. At Rome von Harff's interests are mainly ecclesiastical. He visited a succession of churches and spent much time in St. Peter's, and, although he is sceptical about relics, he is careful to catalogue the indulgences, quarantines<sup>1</sup> and pardons to be obtained at each shrine. On Good Friday he was present at the Passion-play in the Colosseum. He took part in the Easter celebrations and was privileged to have an audience with the Pope, who gave him his blessing and licence to visit the Holy Land. The ruins of classical Rome are passed over for the most part in silence. Von Harff is more interested in pardons and indulgences, the magician Virgil, and the legends concerning medieval Rome, many of which are preserved in the *Mirabilia* and other early records. There are interesting references to the hatred inspired by Alexander VI's Spanish mercenaries, and the traveller saw fighting in the streets during a serious disturbance at Easter time. Von Harff is

<sup>1</sup> As quarantines figure so largely in the following pages, it may be well to say here that quarantine was an expression frequently used in grants of indulgences, and signifies a strict ecclesiastical penance of forty days, performed according to the practice of the early Church. Hence an indulgence of seven quarantines for instance, implies the remission of as much temporal punishment as would be blotted out by the corresponding amount of ecclesiastical penance. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. quarantine.



the only authority for this outbreak quoted by Pastor and Gregorovius (p. 42).

For his description of the churches von Harff used one of the *libri indulgentiarum* which were very popular from the fourteenth century onwards. L. Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, 1930, records a number of printed versions before 1500, and MS. copies dating from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must exist in many European libraries. With their promises of indulgences and pardons they served as puffs or advertisements, intended to attract pilgrims to Rome, and copies were no doubt in the hands of every fifteenth-century visitor. In 1925 Huelsen reprinted a German Pilgrim-Book, printed by Stephan Planck in Rome in 1489 (see Bibliography under Huelsen), and a comparison of this text with von Harff's makes it clear that this, or a very similar book, formed the basis of von Harff's description of the churches, although he gives a different order for the Seven Churches. Except that von Harff used a low German dialect, the transcription is often quite literal. A few examples will suffice.

von Harff, p. 21 (German edition)

... Sijnt Peters munster, licht an eynem berge heyscht Vaticano. Zu deser kirchen geyt man eyn steynen trapp off seesinddryssichstaffelen hoich. Wer die off ader aeff geyt mit andaicht ind ruwe sijnre sunden der hait so duckmael van yeder trappen seuen jaer aefflais.

von Harff, p. 21-22  
*Pine Cone*

dae is in der mytte eyn groyss knouff van messange, der hait gestanden off der kirchen

*Pilgerbuch*, 1489 (no page references)

... Sant Peters munster vnd lyt an einē perge der heist vaticano. Zu der selbē kirch so get man ein steg vff xxxvi staffel: wer die vff ader abe gehet in andacht: der hat vor ider staffel vii iar ablas.

*Pilgerbuch*, 1489

da ist in der mit eyn knopff von messig groes: der stunt vff der kirch Maria rotunda die wil sie was eyn tempel der

Maria rotunda die wijle sij was eyn tempel der aefftgoede. Do man sij wijet zo eynre cristen kirchen hait der duuel den knouff van der kirchen eweech gevoirt ind in die Tyber geworffen, ind man hait yen van wonders haluen weder alher gesatz.

*von Harff, p. 22*

*St. Peter's*

Item hie in desem Sijnt Peters munster sijnt hondert altair ind zo eynem yeclichen altair sijnt gegeuen aichtzien jair aefflais ind ouch also vil karenen. Item van den hondert altairen hait man erwelt seuen heufft altair, die hauen noch vil mc aefflais dan die anderen.

*von Harff, p. 19*

*Seven sleepers*

Item hynder deser kirchen is eyn krufft heyscht catacumbe, dar inne is eyn brunne dae innen vonden sijnt die heylige lijchenam sijnt Peters ind sijnt Paulus, die da gelegen hatten nae yerrer martijlien nae Cristus geboirt drij hondert ind nuyntzien jair, die wylche corper dem pays Urbano gewijst worden van den seuen sleefferen, dat sij in dem puetz legen. Von stunden an do sij idt den pays gewijst hatten

aptgote: da man sie wihet zu eyner kirchen da furt der tufel dē knopf enweg vnd warff in in die tyber: vnd man hat in durch wunder da her gesetzt.

*Pilgerbuch, 1489*

Item in sant Peters munster sint hüdert altar vnd zu itlichem altar sint geben XVIII iar ablass und so viel karein. Von den hundert altaren so hat man erwelt VII haubt altar die habē noch mer ablas dan die anderen.

*Pilgerbuch, 1489*

Item hinder der kirchen ist ein grufft heist cathecūbis, dar in ist ein brū dar in sint gefundē worden die heiligen lichnam sant Peters vnd sant Paulus vnd habē da gelegē bys man zalt nach  $\overline{xps}$  gepurt CCC vnd XIX iar die habē gezeuget die VII schleffer dē pabst:  $\overline{vn}$  da die lichnaz gezeignet da filen sie zu puluer vor dē pabst Urban: der heilig pabst Urbanus thet das puluer in ein sarck das ist in der kirchen. Es ist i der grufft Cathecumbisalle

veylten sij weder dar neder ind  
woirden zo esschen die man  
noch huydendestaichs dae  
tzount. Item in deser krufft  
catecumbi is so groyss aefflaes  
ind genaede as in sijnt Peters  
kyrche.

von Harff, p. 17  
S. Croce

Item in deser kirchen steyt eyn  
cappell, heyscht Jherusalem,  
dae vyndt man den schatz der  
gnaeden.

tage so vil ablas vnd gnad als  
in sant Peters kirch vaticano.

Pilgerbuch, 1489

Da ist ein capel die heist zu  
Jerusalē: da findet man den  
schatz der gnaeden.

It may be observed, however, that von Harff was no mere copyist. There is much in the description of Rome which was the result of personal observation, and which is not to be found in the narratives of other travellers.

Readers will be struck by the extravagant nature of the indulgences granted to pilgrims. These were not only promised in the *libri indulgentiarum*, but were also announced on tablets at the various churches. That many of these were spurious seems to be clear. Certainly they were not in accordance with the practice of the Church before the fourteenth century. Dr. Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* (II. pp. 292-305), 1922-23, devotes a special section to indulgences granted for visits to the Roman churches. He makes it clear that very few indulgences were granted to pilgrims prior to 1300 and none for more than seven years and seven quarantines. He regards the excessive indulgences of the *libri indulgentiarum* as fabrications originating during the Babylonish Captivity. That a sounder doctrine with regard to the whole subject of sin and pardon was at times impressed upon the people is clear from a MS. sermon (B. M. Harleian MSS. 2321, f. 17ff.) quoted by J. R. Hulbert in *Modern Philology*, XX, p. 420. But the books were allowed to circulate freely and were widely read.

Easter fell in 1497 on 26 March, and eight days later (3 April) von Harff left Rome for Venice, of which he gives a detailed and

interesting account. His description of the Arsenal is possibly the most detailed of the period which has come down to us, for the traveller was much interested in guns and weapons of war. He tells us that he sailed from Venice early on St. Agatha's day (5 February), but this must be an error. One of the difficulties in checking von Harff's itinerary is the hopeless confusion about dates, but I have dealt with this in a special note (p. xxxiii). The Venetian episode is indeed puzzling. Various explanations have been offered. Freiherr von Seydlitz, who has devoted fifty closely-printed pages to a defence of von Harff, comes to the conclusion that the traveller went first to Venice, then to Rome, and then back to Venice, but being a pious young man he felt bound to give Rome pride of place in his book.<sup>1</sup> This is quite possible. Von Harff travelled from Cologne with merchants, who could have had no object in visiting Rome, but St. Agatha's day is the real stumbling block, unless, as I have pointed out in my note on dates, this was the date on which von Harff left Venice for Rome after his first visit.

Groote suggests (p. xii) that von Harff only passed through Venice on his way to the East, and that he compiled his record from other sources. With this I do not agree. I know of no record available to von Harff from which he could have compiled such a detailed description. Moreover, there are a number of personal touches which could scarcely be invented or borrowed. Von Harff was received and entertained by Anton Paffendorp, a member of a family of Cologne merchants long established in Venice, and everything points to a fairly prolonged stay. Students of medieval travel narratives will have noted how little reliance can be placed on travellers' dates. Von Harff compiled the record after his return. He was denied the blessings of desk-calendars and pocket-diaries, and it is going too far to say that because the dates do not fit in with the story, the traveller could not have visited one or other of the places he describes. I prefer to assume that von Harff spent some time at Venice, and that he sailed for Alexandria on a date which cannot now be fixed.

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Orientfahrt des Ritter Arnold von Harff': *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Geographie*, Weimar, 1890, p. 5 (Ergänzungsheft, No. 2).

The traveller was most hospitably treated in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. He was pleased to note the important part played by German merchants in the trade in spices and silks and other products of the East. Like most pilgrims he busied himself with buying provisions for the voyage, including a stately merchant's gown, a heathen dress, a hen-coop, a tin box with a lock (against thieves), plague-pills, aperients, and a basin in which to spit and be sick. He hired a dragoman, changed his money, and procured bills of exchange which he could cash in the East, and his description of the business of obtaining ready money from heathen money-changers is instructive and amusing (p. 71). The process was so simple that the traveller did not even need the services of a dragoman.

Once on board the galley von Harff went up and down measuring, estimating and taking notes. He examined the ordnance and rigging, made the acquaintance of the Patron, a 'sentiloman' of Venice, visited the great man's cabin, which was furnished like a prince's palace, noted his gold and silver plate, and inspected his trumpeters (p. 73). Nothing seems to have escaped him, and his delight on finding that the chief-gunner and two of the trumpeters were Germans must have been unbounded.

The galley sailed, finally, in God's name, with a good wind and under full canvas, the main-sail resplendent with a painting of St. Christopher, beneath which was a Latin text. But it must be observed that the boat was not a pilgrim, but a merchant, galley. Von Harff is at pains again and again to make it clear that he was not a pilgrim in the ordinary acceptation of the word. He travelled with merchants and by this means he saved tribute and enjoyed the freedom of movement and privileges usually accorded to traders. He liked merchants and found them good company (p. 4). Nor did he follow the usual pilgrim routes. It was not until he had almost completed his travels that he visited the Holy Land and this at a time when the rush was over. Not for him were the discomforts, the crowding, the delays and extortions, or the blows which seem to have been the lot of the personally-conducted pilgrim to the holy places at that time.

The voyage was on the whole uneventful except for a bad

storm off Zara and another narrow escape at Cerigo (p. 82). At Ragusa there was time to write down specimens of the Albanian and Slavonic languages. There is a detailed and interesting description of Rhodes, which was still nursing its wounds after the Turkish siege of 1480. At Alexandria the ship was boarded by an official, who inspected the cargo and passenger-lists and sent a report to headquarters by carrier pigeon. Von Harff passed himself off as a merchant, thereby saving tribute, and, having procured a safe-conduct, he took up his quarters at the Venetian Fondaco.

Von Harff does not seem to have spent much time at Alexandria, but he visited the holy places associated with St. Catherine, took a drawing of a leopard and admired the gardens (readers will note again and again his interest in gardens and animals). He also inspected the slave-market, where Christian boys and girls were sold for twenty or thirty ducats apiece. From Rosetta the travellers sailed up the Nile to Cairo, studying the crops and sugar canes. Egypt supplied the best sugar during the Middle Ages, and a short description is added of the process of extracting and refining sugar.

The description of Cairo, which was then ruled by the Mameluke Sultans, is interesting and detailed. Here again von Harff passed as a merchant and was fortunate in finding two German Mamelukes to act as guides. Like other Europeans, the traveller lodged in the house of the chief dragoman, but the conditions were deplorable. The travellers slept on bare earth in holes like pig-sties. Von Harff was able, however, to visit the houses of the guides, where he drank wine secretly. The Sultan sent for him and enquired, with some anxiety, as to the intentions of the French King, who was believed to be planning another crusade. The Sultan was a young man, the son of the old Sultan Kait Bey, who had abdicated in his favour in 1496. The young ruler was then almost at the end of his cruel and profligate career, for he was murdered in 1498, and he was still fighting for his existence. The Mamelukes were completely out of hand. They plundered and fought in the streets. The famous balsam garden had been destroyed. The head dragoman's house was pulled down and his goods were seized, and von Harff was assaulted and beaten, and

would have fared even worse if he had not possessed the Sultan's safe-conduct. The destruction of the dragoman's house is confirmed by a dispatch preserved in Sanuto's *Diary*, but unfortunately the dates do not agree (p. 106, note 1), although the dragoman's house may well have been raided twice. But here, as elsewhere, von Harff made light of his misfortunes, and busied himself studying the education and training of the Mamelukes and the administration of justice. The life of the city seems to have gone on undisturbed by political upheavals, and there was plenty to do and see. According to von Harff there were 24,000 lanes and streets in Cairo and twenty-four main streets. There were 24,000 cooks carrying their stoves on their heads, 48,000 bread- and 10,000 water-carriers, in addition to a huge population, which is estimated at 100,000, not counting Mamelukes. The figures are no doubt exaggerated, but the people seem for the most part to have spent their time out of doors, and what with the crowds in the streets, the asses, mules, camels and horses, and the tradesmen crying their wares, the noise and confusion must have been indescribable. But von Harff seems to have enjoyed it all. He took sketches of costumes, administered restoratives to an epileptic, attended a funeral, studied the appearance and habits of the giraffe and the artificial incubation of chickens, informed himself as to Mahometan beliefs and customs, and repelled the advances of beautiful women who were sent to lure him from his faith and persuade him to enter the Sultan's service. It is a lively and amusing picture, one of the best of the period which has come down to us. The description ends with visits to the Pyramids and the ruined balsam garden at Matarca, and a lengthy Arabic vocabulary. There can be little doubt that von Harff took pains to inform himself as to the political and economic conditions of the country, and his statements can be confirmed from other sources. In one case the confirmation is quite startling. He tells us that the amount of silver money struck in Europe and sent to the East amounted to as much as 300,000 ducats a year. This is precisely the figure given by Sanuto for the year 1497 (p. 114, note 1).

We come now to the meeting with the Ambassador from 'the great Ruler of India' (p. 132) to which I have already referred.

I will say nothing more about this personage except that his exit from the scene is as mysterious as his appearance. He was now apparently on the way home, and as von Harff was bound for Mt. Sinai, the embassy and caravan departed together. The travellers left Cairo on the first day of the new moon in July (2 July 1497). Except for a stray reference here and there, we hear no more about the Ambassador.

So far as von Harff's journey to Mt. Sinai is concerned it did not differ much from other similar expeditions, but it was gruesome enough. Two of the travellers fell sick and were left to die in the desert, and the route is described as lined with human remains, and the whitened bones of camels. It is pleasant to turn from these horrors to the amusing picture of the traveller seated on his camel, in a kind of box, with his goat-skins filled with water and his food beside him (p. 135).

The journey took ten days and the travellers were most hospitably received by the monks, then a much reduced company, living what von Harff calls a god-forsaken life, but they exhibited their precious relics and conducted the travellers to the various holy places, the place where Jehovah appeared to Moses in the Burning Bush, the spring where Moses watered his sheep, and the place where the Children of Israel set up the Golden Calf. Von Harff climbed Mt. Sinai (which he calls Mt. Oreb) and subsequently clambered up to the top of Jebel Katherin (which he calls Mt. Sinai) to inspect the site of St. Catherine's grave, a trying expedition which involved much scrambling on hands and knees from rock to rock, but there was a magnificent view from the summit, and from it the travellers could see the town of 'I'hor on the Red Sea, which was to be their next stopping place (p. 147).

'I'hor was a small, unwall'd town with houses made of earth and reeds, depending for its existence on the Indian spice trade. The travellers were surprised to find that the Red Sea was not red, but they visited the spot where the Children of Israel passed over on dry land, and cut sticks from the bush which supplied the rod with which Moses smote the waters and they were divided. At 'I'hor von Harff met two German merchants who were on their way to Madagascar. It seems probable that



this meeting took place in late July or early August 1497. The spice ships arrived from India twice a year in March and September and sailed again with the westerly monsoon, and it was decided not to wait for a boat but to travel overland to Aden. The travellers joined a caravan which was bound for Mecca, and von Harff tells us that with the help of a renegade he was smuggled into the town and visited the Holy House, where he claims to have seen the tomb of the Prophet, which of course he cannot have done, but the confusion between Mecca and Medina was very general in the Middle Ages (p. 153, note 2). I see no reason to doubt that von Harff did visit Mecca, although the journey must have taken some twenty or twenty-five days, not eight, as he says. The travellers then went on to Aden, visiting Saba on the way, where, in the year 4165 after the creation of the world, the Queen of Sheba held her court. From Aden, which von Harff calls Modach (Modace in Ptolemy), the travellers sailed for the island of Socotra. This is well within the range of possibility, but the Magnetic Rocks and the Island of Men and Women come from Mandeville and Marco Polo. From what source von Harff obtained his picture of the Amazons (p. 157) I do not know, but it must be confessed that these redoubtable females do not look very fierce. As I have already indicated I think that von Harff may well have visited Socotra. The description of the inhabitants, who were Christians of St. Thomas, their dress and habits can scarcely have been obtained except by personal observation. These details are not taken from Marco Polo, or from any other source known to me.

If von Harff is to be believed he sailed from Socotra to Ceylon, and then reached India where, at Makeron, he visited the shrine of the Apostle St. Thomas, but he tells us very little about it. He seems to have relied for his information on Mandeville and Marco Polo, or on one or other of the documents associated with the forged letter of Prester John, with which he was certainly acquainted, but even so, he might have told us much more. According to Mandeville (p. 163, note 2) the Apostle's right hand gave judgement in matters of dispute, whereas other reports tell us that the Apostle's body was preserved entire in his shrine. On the Saint's day the body was placed in a pontifical

chair, and with his right hand the Apostle administered the sacrament to the faithful, withdrawing it from heretics and unbelievers. Von Harff, like Mandeville, speaks only of the Apostle's right hand, and both dismiss the story as untrue. It is hard to believe, if von Harff had really visited the shrine, that he would have been so brief. There is a characteristic and humorous touch in von Harff's remark, that if the inhabitants of Lack, who mocked at him for wearing clothes, spent a winter in Germany they would soon cease to imitate Adam and Eve, but the story comes direct either from Odoric or Marco Polo. It is difficult for us to understand to-day why any traveller in his senses should sail from Socotra to the East Coast of Africa by way of India, unless we realise the confusion which existed in people's minds at that time about India. Our India proper was then known as India Magna, India Major or India Prima, but there was an Ethiopic India (sometimes called India Tertia) which was probably to be found on the East Coast of Africa or Zanzibar. When von Harff speaks of Madagascar in association with India (p. 153) he must have been thinking of Ethiopia. For him Lesser India was Abyssinia (p. 136). He can have had no idea that he was straining his reader's credulity, or that a journey from Socotra to Madagascar, via India, and the Shrine of St. Thomas, would have involved a sea voyage of thousands of miles, to say nothing of land journeys.

I have given my reasons (p. 169, note 1) for refusing to believe that von Harff visited Madagascar, although he may have reached Magadoxo on the Somali Coast. The camels suggest Somaliland, but the story of the pepper harvest comes from Mandeville or Prester John's letter. The ascent of the Mountains of the Moon—von Harff's name Kobalhar is a complete mystery—and the discovery of the source of the Nile hardly belong to serious travel literature,<sup>1</sup> but they serve to introduce a discussion on the situation of Paradise, a subject which never failed to interest the medieval world.

<sup>1</sup> If the Mountains of the Moon are to be identified with the Ruwenzori range, the highest peaks, some of them over 16,000 ft., were first climbed by the Duke of Abruzzi in 1905, and then only with the help of trained Alpine guides.

It will be noted that the description of the Nile journey is much briefer than the rest, in fact hardly more than a list of place names. Von Harff seems here to have used one of the early Ptolemy maps. Many of the place names appear in the same order in the Rome Ptolemy maps of 1478 and 1490 and already in the Ebner Codex (c. 1460), reproduced in E. L. Stevenson's translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* published in 1932, and now recognised as the basis of the Rome maps. The similarity when we come to Meroë Island is most marked. The use of the term Ethiopia sub Egypto as indicating the tract west of the Nile in the latitudes covered by Nubia provides further proof of von Harff's use of the Ptolemy maps. This was Ptolemy's name for the whole tract above (i.e. south of) Egypt as far east as the sea coast, but in the Rome Ptolemy and Ebner maps the name is written in west of the Nile simply because the area to the east was otherwise filled with names, and that is where von Harff found it (p. 179). He claims to have travelled from the Mountains of the Moon to Cairo in some fifty-nine days, sometimes by river, sometimes by land. No other travelling details are given. There were apparently no preparations, no bearers, no sleeping accommodation. There is no mention of swamps, forests or rapids, no reference to the travellers' reception by the way, and, except for the musk deer (which is not found in Central Africa) and a reference to snakes and parrots, the country might have been devoid of animal life. When one realises that it took Speke nearly two years to travel from Zanzibar to the Ripon Falls, and that the Nile runs for some 3,473 miles from Victoria Nyanza to the sea, it is clear that, except as an example of ingenious map work, von Harff's Nile journey is not to be taken seriously.

Be this as it may, if we cut out the whole of this interlude, which fills only sixteen out of 251 pages in the German printed text, we still have a narrative of travel which has stood the test of critical examination for more than eighty years and has emerged fundamentally unchallenged. The description of Rome, Venice, Rhodes and Cairo at the close of the fifteenth century would alone entitle von Harff to an honoured place among travellers.

How von Harff and his companions got back to Cairo is pure

conjecture, but once there the story again becomes comprehensible. Von Harff now left for the Holy Land, travelling part of the way with a punitive expedition sent out to quell further disturbances. The journey took twelve days through a wilderness, where the travellers were bitten by vermin but seem to have had sufficient food and water. At Gaza, for some reason only hinted at, von Harff and his companions were seized and imprisoned by the governor, and kept for three weeks, suffering hardships which, as he tells us, no Christians ought to undergo. There is a pathetic picture of von Harff with his head, hands and feet in a complicated kind of vice (p. 185). The next stopping place was Hebron, and here the 'pilgrimage' began in earnest, for the travellers were approaching Bethlehem. Von Harff's descriptions of the various holy places here and at Jerusalem tell us nothing new and need not detain us long, but this part of the book is brief and businesslike, and provides a useful summary of what the devout pilgrim was expected to see and do. A German friar accompanied him daily and helped him to write his description. Von Harff was duly dubbed Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and there is an interesting description of the ceremony (p. 202). He entered the Mosque of Omar disguised as a Mameluke, not apparently such a dangerous undertaking as travellers would have us believe (p. 207), and visits were paid to the Mount of Olives, the place called Aceldema, Bethany and the Jordan, a muddy stream where the pilgrims stripped and bathed. At the Dead Sea time was found for a drawing to be taken of the poisonous snake called 'Tyr, and search was made (for six days!) without success for the Pillar of Salt and the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah, traces of which, it was said, could be seen in the water—but, says von Harff, it was all a lie. There was nothing but broken rocks which, in the darkness, looked like ruined walls. From Nazareth von Harff climbed Mt. Tabor. The Sea of Galilee was found to be still well stocked with fish, and finally, by way of Cana, the travellers reached Damascus where they were shown the window through which St. Paul was let down, as well as the place of his conversion. Damascus was a fine trading town with a Venetian Fondaco, from which the travellers visited, among other places of interest, the cave in

which Isaac was born and the place where Cain slew his brother. Between Damascus and Beirut was the mountain on which Noah built the Ark, and at Beirut was the cave where St. George slew the dragon and freed the princess.

Von Harff now made his way across Asia Minor to Constantinople, but he has not much of interest to tell us. He was received by the Turkish ruler, who, like the Sultan of Egypt, was anxious to know what the King of France was about, and once again the young man was pressed to renounce his faith and take service in the East. We have a glimpse of St. Sophia with its altars and pictures destroyed and defaced, and, as for the other Christian churches, they had been turned into dens for wild beasts (p. 241). There is a good deal about the Turkish army and its equipment. Von Harff inspected the Harem and watched the daily executions in the market-place, visited the baths, and provides a specimen of the Turkish language. The return journey to Europe was made by land through Bulgaria and Hungary, but the route is confused and difficult to follow, and the subsequent journey to Compostella is the least interesting part of the whole book. The itinerary is given very briefly: even Compostella is dismissed in half a page. It is clear that von Harff disliked Spain and everything Spanish. He was plagued by customs officials, and shocked by the miserable accommodation at the inns. 'Summa Summarum,' he says, 'Spain is an evil country,' and Christianity was more mocked there than in Turkey. The last part of the journey was performed on mules, with a pack ass to carry pots and pans for cooking, since nothing could be had in the houses, and there was no provender for horses. The roads were full of thieves and criminals. On the way home, in the neighbourhood of Leon, the travellers were attacked, two pilgrims were killed, and von Harff only escaped by taking to his heels and tramping day and night to Burgos.

Once in France the journey becomes even more hurried. Except for Mt. St. Michel and Paris, the itinerary is for the most part a mere jumble of place names. At Paris von Harff was presented to Louis XII, who knighted him, but he was anxious to be home again, and, abandoning his intention of visiting England, Ireland and Bruges, the traveller hurried on to Cologne,

reaching the city on St. Martin's Eve, i.e. 10 November 1499 (but see Note on Dates). He had been absent for three years.

Von Harff's object in writing his book was essentially a practical one. It was to be a guide, a sign-post, a trusty guide for other pilgrims. He sets down the miles or leagues or day-journeys from place to place, remarks on bridges and rivers to be crossed, and in Spain he has many hints about customs restrictions. Unfortunately, although he knew Latin (p. 47), it is doubtful if he had a word of French or Italian, and he lacked what we should call a good ear. His transcription of place-names is a nightmare. Even in his own country and district he could write *Sent Gewer* for *St. Goar*, *Ingelhusen* for *Ingelheim* and *Meensse* for *Mainz*, and when he reached France the confusion is hopeless. We have *Ullenburgo* (*Lanslebourg*), *Regofin* (*Léguévin*), *Schandelis* (*Chantilly*), *Ribecka* (*Ribécourt*), *Krosepio* (*Croix-Chapeau*) and *Composschengere* (*La Copechaguière*). Even such a well-known place as *Montpellier* becomes *Mompaleyr*, and there can be little justification, in a book which was intended to be of practical use, for writing *Gracianopolim* for *Grenoble*. But for the labours of a learned geographer, Dr. Hamy (see Bibliography under Hamy) many of the towns and places in France and Italy would have remained unidentified. In the text I have reproduced von Harff's transcriptions in most cases, adding modern names in brackets, except in the case of capital cities and well-known places. It seemed ridiculous to write *Rodijs* for *Rhodes*, *Alkayr* for *Cairo*, *Paele* for *Pola*, *Parijs* for *Paris* and *Broesselt* for *Brussels*.

The practical purpose of the book is also clear when von Harff comes to deal with ecclesiastical matters. In spite of his jibes about relics and the disputes of priests there can be no doubt that he took shrines and holy places very seriously indeed. He was concerned to visit as many as he could. Few Germans can ever have contemplated—as von Harff did—a voyage to Ireland in order to spend a night at St. Patrick's Purgatory in a cave tormented by devils. Von Harff was anxious lest later pilgrims should miss some pardon or indulgence or quarantine at Rome or elsewhere, and he sets them all down with wearisome iteration. His piety is never in question. He was

proud to have been blessed by the Pope and to be a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and by the time he reached the Holy Land he seems to have cast off all suspicions about relics and priests. There are no more jibes until the traveller arrived at Compostella, where his faith was once more assailed by doubt.

Readers will note the traveller's interest in guns and soldiering, in trade and manufactures, in natural phenomena, his astrolabe, his medicine chest, and his independence of outlook. He had an eye for pretty women and a sense of humour, and he could make light of his misfortunes. Philologists will welcome his interest in languages. Indeed, his mania for collecting foreign words and phrases was extraordinary. Some of the alphabets appear to have been lifted from Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, a German translation of which was printed in 1486. But the vocabularies were his own work and bespeak an enquiring and practical mind. He provided himself with a set of words and phrases which he got someone to translate and he then wrote down what he heard. That he did not hear very well at times is apparent, but on the whole the result is better than might be expected. I have submitted the alphabets and vocabularies to experts, and their remarks are incorporated in my notes. It is interesting to observe that von Harff is believed to be the first traveller to report on the Albanian language and that one—not very proper—phrase in his Basque vocabulary still eludes the ingenuity of students of that difficult language.

## NOTE AS TO DATES

**V**on Harff left Cologne on 7 Nov. 1496 (p. 4). He reached Rome in time for the Holy Week celebrations in 1497.

Easter Day fell on 26 March.

The gap between Nov. 1496 and March 1497 is unexplained. It is probable that von Harff travelled first to Venice, then went on to Rome and returned to Venice. (It is to be noted that he travelled with two merchants who gave him good company as far as Venice (p. 4). Merchants could have had no valid reason for going to Venice via Rome.) This assumption is confirmed by the description of the festivities on the Thursday before Shrove Tuesday (2 Feby.) but it still leaves unexplained the statement that von Harff sailed from Venice on St. Agatha's day (5 Feby.) although he might well have left Venice for Rome on 5 February after his first visit. Von Harff tells us that he left Rome for Venice on the eighth day after Easter (3 April 1497). If my assumption is correct, this would be von Harff's second visit to Venice. It is not possible to fix the date on which he sailed from Venice to Alexandria.

The next date we have is 'the first day of the new moon in July' (2 July 1497; Seydlitz, p. 6) when von Harff left Cairo for Mt. Sinai (p. 136). If we allow a month for sight-seeing in Cairo he would have arrived there at the beginning of June 1497. The voyage from Venice to Jaffa by the pilgrim galley took 6 or 8 weeks, but von Harff sailed in a merchant galley, which may have been faster, and spent some time at Rhodes. Allowing 8 weeks for the voyage he might have sailed from Venice sometime in April 1497.

Von Harff was at Cairo during the disturbances following the death of the Sultan Kait Bey (*d.* 7 Aug. 1496). The Balaam garden was destroyed when von Harff saw it. The destruction



took place before July 1497 (p. 127, note 1). The young Sultan who received von Harff was murdered on 31 Oct. 1498.

The journey to and from Mt. Sinai may have taken 3 weeks or a month so that von Harff would have reached Thor on the Red Sea in July or August 1497. He says that the ships for India sailed in March and September, but that it was too long to wait for a ship (p. 153). We have now to fit in the journey to Aden, via Mecca, and the voyages to India (if the traveller ever went there) and to Madagascar and the visit to the source of the Nile (the Mountains of the Moon).

Von Harff claims to have climbed the Mountains of the Moon at the beginning of June (1498). He then returned to Cairo (p. 181) and left for the Holy Land on 2 Nov. 1498. (Here MS. *A* has 'anno nuyn ind nuintzich', but a later hand has struck out 'nuyn' and inserted 'acht'. MSS. *B* and *C* also give 99 (Groote, p. XIII), but the year must be 1498 as von Harff was back in Cologne in November 1499).

He gives 59 days for the journey from the Mountains of the Moon down the Nile to Cairo, which is of course absurd, and goes to show that he never made the journey.

The next date is 13 March (1499) when von Harff left Damascus (p. 232). Here all the MSS. give 'achtindnuyntzich', but the year must be 1499.

We have some confirmation of the date of von Harff's visit to Padua. He reports that the Queen of Cyprus was then a prisoner there with her two sons. The sons did not leave Padua until 1509 (p. 252, note 1), and were certainly there in 1499. This helps to fill the gap between March and May or July 1499 when von Harff crossed by the Mt. Cenis into France.

The next date is the beginning of May (1499) when von Harff writes that he crossed by the Mt. Cenis into France (p. 257), but if he had travelled night and day he could not have accomplished the journey from Damascus to Mt. Cenis between March and May. From his own record the journey from Damascus to Constantinople took 34 days and he spent 3 weeks in Constantinople (p. 246). He says in his summary '41 days from Jerusalem to Constantinople', but this must be a mistake. He gives the number of day-journeys from Constantinople to Venice as 93,

so that he cannot have reached Mt. Cenis in less than 4 months. That would bring him to July and the mountains would still be covered in snow. Moreover, the time between November 1498 and March 1499 is rather long for a visit to the Holy Land. If von Harff crossed by the Mt. Cenis in May he must have left Damascus in January 1499. No other dates are given until St. Martin's Eve 1499 (10 Nov.) when he reached Cologne. In the opening address to his patrons he gives the date of his return as 10 Oct. 1499 (p. 1). But here there is further confusion.

MS. *A* had originally 'dusend vierhondt xcviij', but two extra 'jj's' have been added, the last certainly by another hand and in lighter ink (Groote, p. x). *B* has in words 'dusend vierhundert aicht ind nuyntzieh', *C* has 'duysend vierhondert ind nūijn ind nuyntzieh', but the word 'nūijn' is written in a later hand in dark ink over another word which has been erased. All MSS. have 10 October in the opening address. It is possible that much of the confusion in dates is due to copyists.

#### DATES GIVEN IN THE TEXT

1496,	7 Nov., Leaves Cologne.
[1497],	26 March, Spends Easter in Rome.
"	3 April, Leaves Rome for Venice.
"	2 July, Leaves Cairo for Mt. Sinai, Aden, and the East.
[1498]	June, Climbs the Mountains of the Moon.
1499 [1498],	2 Nov., Leaves Cairo for the Holy Land.
1498 [1499],	13 March, Leaves Damascus for Constantinople.
[1499],	May, Crosses the Mt. Cenis into France.
1499,	10 Nov. (Oct.), Returns to Cologne.



## THE PILGRIMAGE OF ARNOLD VON HARFF, KNIGHT

**T**O the serene, highborn Prince and Princess, Lord & Lady William and Sybilla,<sup>1</sup> Margravine of Brandenburg etc., Duke and Duchess of Jülich and Berg, Count and Countess of Ravensburg, Lord & Lady of Heinsberg and Lewenberg etc, testifying at all times my willing and dutiful service.



Serene, highborn Prince & Princess, beloved Lord & Lady, when I Arnold von Harff, a knight born in your Graces' princely land, the Duchy of Jülich, had, in the year counting from the birth of our Lord 1499, on the tenth day of October, brought to completion a praiseworthy pilgrimage, I came first to your

<sup>1</sup> Duke William IV of Jülich & Berg, died 1544. He married Sibylla, daughter of the Elector Albert Achilles of Brandenburg.

princely Graces at Heinsberg, who received me honourably and bade me welcome, bestowing on me gifts and other favours, so that it will ever be my pleasure to serve your princely Graces with my dutiful and willing obedience. I have therefore in return been diligent & strenuous in honour, and for the favour of your princely Graces, in recording faithfully this pilgrimage which I have completed, and in making a book of it, so that if your princely Graces should make such a pilgrimage you should have at hand, by my favour, a trusty sign-post.

I beg therefore that your princely Graces may receive this book in proof of my gratitude, and pardon me if, owing to my deficient understanding, it is not well arranged. Yet one will find it to be a proper and reliable guide, although, most noble Lord, there are troublesome and careless chatterers and detractors of honour who think there are no other countries under the sun except those in which they live, and maintain therefore that every traveller's story is a lie. Would to God that I might be summoned with such a one before your princely Graces, even before the King's majesty, or a duke, lord, knight or squire, for I could then justify myself and these my travels.

Praise be to the eternal Father, Son and Holy Ghost. I Arnold von Harff Knight etc. for the comfort and well-being of my soul undertook to accomplish this praiseworthy pilgrimage as follows:

Item first from Cologne to Rome to obtain pardon, and from our Holy Father, the Pope, leave to pass over the sea.

Item from Rome to Mt. Sinai, where rests the body of the holy Virgin St. Catherine, through the great city of Cairo, where the mighty lord and Sultan holds his court, and to obtain his favour in order to pass safely and without hindrance through Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Greater Armenia, the Holy Land and other parts of his dominions.

Item from Mt. Sinai through many provinces and countries to the kingdom called Mackeron, to a town called Kalamya, to seek there the place where the body of the holy Apostle St. Thomas lies.

Item further from the town of Kalamya to seek the source of the river Nile, which men say flows there from Paradise.



sadors, had been sent at that time from your Graces to France to the King, who found me on their journey in Paris and turned me from my purpose. But, gracious Lord, I am willing shortly to undertake these two pilgrimages, which I will describe in writing for your Graces, from town to town, from village to village, from language to language, at the end of this book.

Item the pilgrimages which I have performed I will, with God's help and according to my small understanding, now describe from country to country, from town to town, from village to village, from mile to mile, from one day's journey to another, from language to language, from faith to faith, together with all that I have seen and experienced. But since I have visited many countries and cities outside the direct route of this pilgrimage, in order to observe towns and districts and the habits of the people, which would take long to relate, I shall in this my description keep to the direct route of this pilgrimage, so that if anyone has in mind to undertake such a pilgrimage, he may look through this book and take it gratefully as a trusty guide, praying to almighty God for the author and pilgrim.

Item it should first be known that in German lands the miles with which we are familiar are generally an hour's riding for one mile. In Lombardy, in Italy, five miles equal a German mile, and in other foreign countries, such as Savoy, Biscay, Gascony, Spain and France they are called leagues, but they are reckoned differently: sometimes two leagues make a mile, sometimes three, and at times, four make a mile, and, as will be seen in this book, in Turkey and heathen lands, there are no miles, only day-journeys.

Item in the year after Christ's birth 1496, on November the seventh, I Arnold von Harff, knight etc., being then in my twenty-fifth year, set out from Cologne, in some difficulty on account of certain noblemen and others, who had sworn an oath to go with me but had proved false, and there was no other true pilgrim to bear me company. I chanced however upon two merchants of Cologne who gave me good company as far as Venice.

My pilgrimage was for the most part performed in company with merchants, with whom it is good to travel. They know the

language and routes. They take escorts from one country to another and make good company.<sup>1</sup>



Item first from Colne to Bonne	4 miles.
Item from Bonne to Wynteren [Oberwinter]	2 miles.
Item from Wynteren to Reymagen	1 mile.
Item from Reymagen to Brijsack [Breisig]	2 miles.
Item from Brijsack to Andernach	2 miles.
Item from Andernach to Couelens [Coblenz]	3 miles.
Item from Couelens to Rens	2 miles.
Item from Rens to Pobarden [Boppard]	2 miles.
Item from Pobarden to Hirtzenawe [Hirzenach]	1 mile.
Item from Hirtzenawe to Sent Gewer [St. Goar]	1 mile.
Item from Sent Gewer to Wesel	1 mile.
Item from Wesel to Bacarach	1 mile.
Item from Bacarach to Dreckshusen [Trechtingshausen]	1 mile.
Item from Dreckshusen to Byngen	1 mile.
Item from Byngen to Ingelhusen [Ingelheim]	2 miles.
Item from Ingelhusen to Meensse [Mainz]	2 miles.

<sup>1</sup> The following is, for the most part, the route taken by William Wey who made two journeys to Jerusalem in 1458 and 1462. Wey travelled from Calais to Aachen and missed Cologne. *The Itineraries of Wm. Wey* (Roxburghe Club) 1857, p. xx.



Item from Meensse to Oppenheim	3 miles.
Item from Oppenheim to Wurms	4 miles.
Item from Wurms to Spijre	3 miles.
Item from Spijre across the Rhine to Broessel [Bruchsal], a small town belonging to Speyer	6 miles.
Item from Bruessel—here begins the land of Swabia—to Breyten [Bretten] a small town of the Palsgrave	2 miles.
Item from Breyten to Smeen [Schmie]	1 mile.
Item from Smeen to Feyingen [Vaihingen] in Würtemberg,	1 mile.
Item from Feyingen to Sweptertingen [Schwieberdingen] in Würtemberg	2 miles.
Item from Sweptertingen to Canstat in Würtemberg	1 mile.
Item from Canstat to Esslingen, an imperial town on the Neckar, a river	1 mile.
Item from Esslingen to Gyppyngen [Göppingen] in Würtemberg	3 miles.
Item from Gyppingen to Geyslingen, belonging to Ulm	2 miles.
Item from Geyslingen to Ulm	2 miles.
This is a free city lying on the Danube. There is also a small river running through the city into the Danube, called the Blau. In this city there is a fine cathedral dedicated to our blessed Lady. <sup>1</sup> The city also owns four villages.	
Item from Ulm to Memmyngen, a free city, which lies on the river Jilen [Iller],	6 miles.
For half the way through a franchise with a hill-castle, called Castle Kirburch, a county.	
Item from Memmyngen to Kempton, an imperial town, which lies on the river Iller,	4 miles.
Item from Kempton to Nesselbanck [Nesselwang], a great village belonging to the bishop of Augsburg,	2 miles.
Item from Nesselbanck to Fijls [Vils],	1 mile.
Item from Fijls to Ruete [Reutte], a village on the Lech,	1 mile.
Item from Ruete,	1 mile.

<sup>1</sup> The Minster of Our Lady at Ulm was commenced in 1377 but not fully completed until 1529.

Through a gorge, between two high mountains joined together by a wall, with an entrance above the gorge on the right hand. On the high mountain stands a castle called Erdenberch [Ehrenberg]<sup>1</sup> belonging to Duke Sigismund where his grace's territory begins, which from thence on belongs to his majesty Maximilian.

Item from the gorge to Lermoys, a village, 1 mile.

Item from Lermoys to Verner [Fern], 1 mile.

Item onwards up and down a high mountain, 1 mile.

Through a gorge into the valley, where there is a fine but small castle standing on the left hand on a small rock in a lake, called Duke Sigismund's, where he is accustomed to take his secret pleasures.<sup>2</sup>

Item from the pass to Nassereit [Nassereith], a village, 1 mile.

In the road on the left hand there is to be seen, at the foot of a sandy mountain, a little pond full of fish which is quite dry in summer, so that the little fish disappear with the water into the sandy mountain, and when the water flows out again from the mountain it brings the little fish, more than can be gathered up with the hands.

Item from Nasseraït two roads branch off, one leads on the left hand to Ijsbruck [Innsbruck], and the other on the right to Eyms [Imst], a large village, 1 mile.

From Nassereit through the village runs a river called the Inn, which descends from St. Nicholas mountain and flows down to Innsbruck.

Item from Eyms to Landeck, 2 miles, a franchise with a mountain castle belonging to the King of the Romans. By it is a lofty mountain castle on the left hand called Kraemborch [Kronberg], belonging to the King.

Item from Landeck to Bruxell [Brücke], a large village beside a mountain castle called Ravenstein.

<sup>1</sup> The castle of Ehrenburg defended the pass of the Ehrenburger Klause and was thought to be impregnable until it was stormed in 1552 by George, Duke of Mecklenburg. Murray, *S. Germany and Austria*, 14th ed. 1879, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Sigmundsborg, built by the Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol, now a picturesque ruin above the Innsbruck road.

Item from Bruxell to Reet [Ried], a large village, 1 mile.

Item from Reet to Fons [Pfunds], a village, 2 miles.

Item from Fons to Noders through a pass over St. Nicholas mountain. Here begins the country of the Etsch, 1 mile.

Item from Noders to Mals across a heath called the Malser Heath,<sup>1</sup> 2 miles.

Mals is a large village with seven churches and is therefore called Seven-Churches.

Item from Mals to Slanders, 2 miles,  
past a mountain castle on the left called Korenburch belonging to the Count of Metz, and on the right hand across the river lies the castle of Lichtenstein [Lichtenberg], noble people. And on the same side in a valley westwards is a beautiful castle called Metz, from which the count takes his name, where the road from Milan enters. Here at Slanders one reaches a river called the Eetz [Etsch] which runs eastwards to 'Trynt ['Trent].

Item from Slanders to Letz [Latsch], 1 mile,  
past a castle on the left hand called Hennenburch, noble people. To the right across the water is a fine castle called Medane, noble people.

Item from Letz to 'Turnot [Naturns] past a mountain castle called Casselwege and on the right a castle called Gevoell, 2 miles.

Item from 'Turnot to Meran, past a mountain castle, on the right called Aresburch, noble people, 2 miles.

Meran is a small and fine town lying in a beautiful valley. Above it on the left stands a fine castle called 'Tyrol, a county, belonging at present to the King. Here in Meran many children are born idiots. I was told as a truth that all the children born in the valley are generally incurable idiots. Therefore when the women are ready to bear children they leave the valley. I lay there in a rich man's house, an inn, and all his children were idiots.

Item from Meran to Eppen, a village, 3 miles;  
past a castle called the New House. Here two roads part, one on

<sup>1</sup> The Reschen-Scheideck pass was often called the Malserheide from the great heathy track on its S. slope above the town of Mals. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, p. 190.

the left leads to Praytz, a town, the other leads to the right to Eppen past a lofty castle called High Epp.

Item from Eppen to Kaltern [Kaltern], 1 mile.

Item from Kaltern to Termyn [Tramin], a village, 1 mile;  
past a lofty castle on the left called Lijchtenberch, and on the right  
across the river Etsch lies a very large village called Neumarkt.

Item from Termyn to Lorne [Salurn], 1 mile.

Item from Lorne to Sijnt Mychiel [S. Michele], 1 mile;  
past a castle on the left called Koenynxberch, noble people, and  
on the right across the Etsch are three castles, one above the  
other, the middle one hewn out of the rock.

Item from Sijnt Mychiel to Nevus [Neues], 1 mile.

Item from Nevus to Trynt [Trent], 2 miles.

This is a small but fine town, a bishopric, where St. Vigilius is patron of the cathedral. The bishop has a fine castle lying at the end of the town as one enters. In this town is a small church, in the sacristy of which lies Simon, the little child who was martyred there by the Jews.<sup>1</sup> I was also taken from this church to a street, where is an old house which was formerly the Jewish synagogue. A stream runs through it, in which they murdered the child. The mother of the child lives opposite, who a few years ago was married; wherefore it is assumed by many that the child performs no more miracles and the Pope refuses to canonize it. There stands also in the cathedral of St. Vigilius on the right hand side, sculptured in stone, a captain of Venice treading on the Venetian banner on which St. Mark is carved.<sup>2</sup> He was killed some years ago by the people of Trent with all his company. Whereat the Venetians gave out that the captain, with their lowered banner, did not signify defeat.

<sup>1</sup> Simon of Trent, the child-victim, was the son of a cobbler or tanner of Trent. He was born in 1472, and on the eve of Easter Monday 1475 his body was found in the river near the house of a Jew. It was put about that Jews used the blood of Christians for ritual purposes, and all members of the Jewish community were arrested. Many were tortured to extract 'confessions' and some were executed. The persecution aroused considerable scandal, and the Church had to step in to stop it. It was said that Simon was canonized as a child-martyr. *Jewish Encyclop.*, xi, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> This is the porphyry tomb of the Venetian general Sanseverino, who was slain by the Trentines at Calliano in 1487. The text is obscure,

Item here in Trent the miles cease and are called Italian miles, which equal usually four to one German mile.

Item here in Trent two roads depart, one leads behind the castle through the mountains to Venice, some seventeen German miles, the other to the right, towards the south, leads to Rome through the valley.

Item from Trent to Raueret [Roveredo], 15 miles, all Italian.

Item from Raueret to Burcket [Borghetto], 10 miles.

Item from Burcket to Verona, called in German Bern, a large fine town, 25 miles.

Here one comes out of the mountains into the level plain of Lombardy.

This town has towards the mountains two fine castles standing above, which, together with the town, belong to the Venetians. Through this town flow the waters of the Etsch [Adige] with many mills which drive the wood-saws, which are very cunningly made and directed. Also in this town is a fine palace marvellously built like the Capitolium at Rome.<sup>1</sup> It is said that Dietrich von Bern built the palace and lived there for a long time. The lower part of this house is full of common prostitutes.

Item from Verona to Ostia [Ostiglia], 30 miles.

Item from Ostia to Merandela [Mirandola], 12 miles.

Item from Merandela to St. John's castle [S. Giovanni in Persicato], 20 miles.

Item from John's Castle to Bononia [Bologna], 13 miles.

<sup>1</sup> If for Capitolium we read Colosseum we get a reference to the Arena. It was known traditionally as the House of Theodoric (Wiel, *Verona*, p. 15). That there were prostitutes there in the fifteenth century, who paid a rent for the privilege, is clear from S. Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, 1826, pt. 4 (*Trattato degli Anfiteatri*), p. 141. Maffei speaks also of executions there. Cf. the Bohemian Rozmítal (1465-67) *fuimus in aedibus Theodorici*, p. 122. He also found women living there, but calls them *farminae nobiles*. In the courtyard was a gibbet. Casola (p. 120) says significantly: 'it is held in little honour, however, to judge by the filth it is deputed to receive'. If the reference is to a palace of Theodoric no trace of it remains, but my view is that von Harff is describing the amphitheatre. He has already mentioned two castles, and at p. 260 he compares the amphitheatre at Nîmes with the one at Verona.

This is a very fine free city. As in former times the overlord was the Pope, so they have now a rich burgher as ruler and overlord named Johannes Bentivolus,<sup>1</sup> whom the King of the Romans, Maximilian, ennobled on account of his great gifts and presents and gave him an eagle above his crest, so that at this time he mints in the city gold and silver coins bearing an eagle with outstretched wings. I was conducted to his palace or house which he has built very richly, having on one side a fine, high four-cornered tower, from the top of which he can overlook the whole city.

As we entered the palace<sup>2</sup> we saw in the courtyard a very fine arsenal of battle pieces, one hundred and fifty battle slings, three great copper slings & four copper carthouns. Close by there was a round stage on two strong wheels, on which were placed twenty-four copper arquebuses, which could be turned round so that three could be fired at once. We were then taken to a splendid hall and to a number of chambers which were all gilded over, in which we saw all manner of marvellous objects. After this we were led again to the front of the palace. There were the stables which are very splendidly built, being very extensive and fine, so that on one side it is possible to stable sixty-two horses and as many on the other side; one side, as we saw, was full. There were twenty-four saddle horses, all brown jennets with long tails such as one could [not?] find elsewhere. We were told as a fact that he [Bentivolus] has daily more than

<sup>1</sup> This was Giovanni Bentivoglio, 1443-1508. In 1494 Maximilian confirmed the privilege granted by Frederick III authorising the Bentivogli to introduce an eagle into their arms in any colour except black. C. M. Ady, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna*, 1937, p. 98. There are no gold coins which have the type of the eagle displayed as the sole type, only silver, but there are coins in gold and silver showing the shield of the Bentivogli with the eagle as crest.

<sup>2</sup> The Bentivoglio palace stood on a piece of ground originally covered by sixteen houses and was built between 1490 and 1497. It lay along the Strà San Donato. An arcaded portico ran the length of the building: above was a row of windows with pilasters corresponding to the columns of the arcade, and the whole was crowned by a row of battlements. It contained 244 rooms. There was a garden at the back, a paradise of flowers and fruit, and behind the gardens were the stables, having their frontage to the Borgo della Paglia. This masterpiece of fifteenth-century domestic architecture was wantonly destroyed in 1507 by order of Pope Julius II, and the treasures of art and value which perished in the flames will never be known. All that is left is a part of the stables. Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, pp. 140, 150, 200. Wiel, *Bologna*, p. 44.

two hundred retainers at table. In this city of Bologna is a fine monastery of preaching friars, where in front of the church, on the right hand, is a flight of stone steps. In a beautiful chapel lies St. Dominican in person, in a magnificent marble tomb above the altar.<sup>1</sup> There is also in this city a splendid university where many Germans from our country are to be found.

Item from Bononia to Planura [Pianoro], a village, 8 miles.

Item from Planura up a mountain to Lugana [Lojano], a village, 8 miles.

Item from Lugana to Verentzuola [Firenzuola], 14 miles; a little town, across a high stony mountain, past a fine castle on the left hand. Here ends the rule of Bologna, and the Florentine dominion is reached.

Item from Verentzuola across a lofty stony mountain to Scharparia [Scarperia], a little town with a Florentine castle, 10 miles.

Item from Scharparia over a high stony mountain to Florence, 14 miles.\*

Florence<sup>2</sup> is a very pleasant city under its own dominion, so that it has under its rule some eighty towns and castles. It had also Pisa under its dominion, but King Charles of France took it in the preceding year on his march to Naples. Through this city flows the river Arno which falls into the sea a day's journey from here at Pisa. In this city is a bishopric. The cathedral is called *ad Libertatem*<sup>3</sup> and is a very beautiful church. The church-tower stands alone a distance of ten paces from the church. It is a very fine four-cornered tower of black and white marble and stood quite detached and walled when they began to build the church. In this city is also a monastery, the Annunciation of our blessed Lady,<sup>4</sup> where many miracles are performed as can be seen from the picture which hangs in the church. We

<sup>1</sup> The Church of San Domenico. The tomb is by Niccolò da Pisa. Cp. Tafur, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Tafur, p. 227. Charles VIII entered Florence on 17 Nov. 1494.

<sup>3</sup> The cathedral, Santa Reparata, was known popularly as *Liperata*.

<sup>4</sup> Church of La Santissima Annunziata. The miraculous picture was said to have been painted by angels. Vasari attributes it to Pietro Cavallini.

went from this church across the market place to a house wherein the council feeds and rears between twenty and thirty lions, in order that they might keep one until it was a hundred years old. Then only could they have again a lion in their coat-of-arms by permission of the Roman Empire with many other privileges which they lost in a war with High-Siena.<sup>1</sup> They applied to the King of France who gave them a double lily on their arms. It was told us as a truth that a few years ago they had a lion which was ninety-eight years old. We were also taken through the city to many houses where they make golden satin, cramoisy, and other silken stuffs. We saw there a round wheel: a boy went into the centre and turned it round, working quite a hundred spindles at once, all of which were spinning silk. This same wheel also wound the spun silk as on a reel.

Item from Florence to Kassan [San Casciano], a Florentine town, 8 miles.

Item from Kassan to Poseboutz [Poggibonsi], 10 miles.

Item from Poseboutz to Stacie, a small town, 3 miles.

Item from Stacie to Senis [Siena] which is called in German High-Siena, 9 miles.

By the gate through which we entered<sup>2</sup> on the right hand stands a four-cornered stone tablet on a high pillar, on which is inscribed that the Emperor Frederick there received his first wife who came from Portugal, which happened in the year after Christ's birth 1455. This town of Siena lies on a little hill surrounded by delightful gardens. They are their own lords, having many towns and castles under them but are nevertheless subjects of the Roman Empire. In this town there is a very stately cathedral to our blessed Lady which, inside from floor to roof, is divided and walled with white and black marble. The pavement of the church below is most richly adorned with little marble

<sup>1</sup> At the battle of Montaperti (4 Sept., 1260) the Florentine Guelphs were totally defeated by the Siennese.

<sup>2</sup> Porta Camolia. Frederick III married Eleanor of Portugal in March 1452 at Naples. The bride reached Siena on 24 Feby. where she was received by Frederick. Gregorovius, VII, 1, p. 121.



stones, with all kinds of ancient histories gathered together.<sup>1</sup> Opposite the entrance to the church is a fine, rich hospital into which we were conducted by the chief magistrate of the town so that we could see it properly.<sup>2</sup> We came first to a beautiful and stately chapel wherein stood six altars, to which six priests are appointed to say Mass daily to the sick people. We came then to a great hall where on both sides one hundred and fifty beds were arranged for the disposal of the sick, and six women were employed to keep the beds neat and clean. We were then taken to the kitchens, of which the sick have one, the poor but healthy people one, the pilgrims one and one for the master, the keeper of the house. There were six in all, one being for the servants. This hospital has also its own surgeon, a doctor of medicine, an apothecary, a shoemaker, a furrier and a smith, all of whom live in the house. In one half of the house live the sick men and in the other the sick women, having their own separate government. There were also in the house at this time quite seven hundred foundlings, all of whom were brought up there with food and clothing, so that the hospital is at great cost, more than 20,000 ducats a year. Item also in this town is a great *studium* or university called *domus sapientiae* or house of wisdom, where are many Germans from our country.

Item from Senis to Boniconventum [Buonconvento], a town belonging to the Siense, 10 miles.

Item from Bonoconventum to Sint Clericum [San Quirico], 8 miles.

Item from Sint Clerico to Recursus [Ricorsi], a village, past many fine castles on both sides belonging to the Siense, 8 miles.

Item from Recursus up a high mountain to Alapalia [La Paglia], in German 'on the straw', where there are three or four inns, 5 miles.

Item from Alapalia to Aqua pendent [Acquapendente], a town of the Pope, on a mountain, 9 miles.

<sup>1</sup> The pavement is described by all travellers. See E. Hutton, *Siena and Southern Tuscany*, p. 112; R. H. Hobart Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala, founded in 882 by a monk of the order of St. Augustine.

Item from Aqua pendent to Sijnt Laurencius [San Lorenzo],  
a castle of the Pope, 5 miles.

Item from Sijnt Laurencius to Bultena [Bolsena], 4 miles.  
This is a franchise lying on a lake, in the centre of which is a  
small rock on which stands a fine monastery wherein it is said  
St. Mary Magdalen lies in person.<sup>1</sup>

Item from Bultena to Monteflescoen [Montefiascone], a little  
town on a mountain, 6 miles.

Item from Monteflescoen to Viterbia [Viterbo], a town on a  
beautiful plain which smells of sulphur,<sup>2</sup> whereon innumerable  
quantities of sheep are to be found. Viterbia is a small but fine  
town wherein, in a convent of Beguines, lies St. Rosa in person.  
We purchased from the sisters girdles and had them touched.  
It is said that the holy Virgin has obtained from almighty God  
that child-bearing women who bind this girdle about them come  
safe from the child-stool. The country women have this belief,  
since it has helped many.<sup>3</sup>

Item from Viterbia across a high mountain beside a lake to  
Roncelyoen [Ronciglione], a small town, 9 miles.

Item from Roncelyoen to Suyters [Sutri], a small town, 3 miles.

Item from Suyters to Montaroiss [Monterosi], a small town,  
4 miles.

Item from Montaroiss to Rome, 20 miles.

Item I arrived at Rome during Lent, and found there a  
good friend, Master Johann Payll,<sup>4</sup> doctor etc. who received  
me honourably into his hostelry, and with the help of several  
cardinals and his friends showed me everything. Within  
Rome there are seven chief churches which we visited four

<sup>1</sup> This must be St. Christina whose relics are preserved in the church on the island of Bisentina.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the hot sulphurous springs called Bulicame near Viterbo mentioned by Dante (*Inf.* xiv, 79). Cp. Tafur, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> The convent of Sta. Rosa, now entirely modernised. Brewyn, *Guide to the Churches of Rome* (c. 1470) ed. by C. E. Woodruff, 1933, p. 73 adds: 'Get girdles here, please.'

<sup>4</sup> Provost of Wassenberg. See below, p. 20.

or five times, as great indulgence is thus to be obtained.<sup>1</sup>

Item the first is St. John Lateran which is the chief church in Christendom.<sup>2</sup> Item this church was a palace of the Emperor Constantine. In this church is one of the golden doors which are only opened in the year of special pardons. There are also three other doors beside each other, but it is not known which is the right door, so one goes through all three.<sup>3</sup> Whoso does this with devotion and penitence is forgiven all his sins. By passing through also souls are redeemed.

Item not far away is a stone whereon St. Sylvester stood when he preached the Christian faith to Constantine and his people. On this stone are the sculptured words *Aures Audiencium*.

<sup>1</sup> As I have shown in the Introduction (p. xviii) von Harff probably used a *Pilgerbuch* of 1489 for the description of the churches. Lists of relics were also exhibited outside the principal churches (below, p. 20) 'The best texts of the *Mirabilia* (the standard guide-book to Rome from the twelfth to the fifteenth century) are in Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, II, p. 604 ff., and Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae*, 1871. See also M. R. James 'Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae', *Eng. Hist. Review*, Oct. 1917. Nichols, *Miracles of Rome* provides a useful translation with notes. For the *libri indulgentiarum*, a name given to a class of book relating to the churches of Rome, see J. R. Hulbert, 'Some medieval advertisements of Rome', *Modern Philology*, XX (1922-23), p. 403 ff. He notes the existence of six Latin MS. versions, besides one each in English, French and German, all in the British Museum, and gives some extracts. Further information is given by Huelsen in his introduction to the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489 (Introd. p. xviii). In his *Le Chiese di Roma*, Huelsen prints extracts from six MSS. relating to 108 churches and gives lists of 15 texts of indulgences in various libraries with notes of 9 more. Wm. Wey in his *Itineraries* (Roxburghe Club), p. 142 ff, copies and adapts a *liber*. He gives 131 churches. *The Stations of Rome* (1440-1485) E.E.T.S. (original series) No. 15, 1866, with notes by W. M. Rossetti, is a rhymed *liber*. See article by E. S. de Beer, *Notes and Queries*, vol. 184, p. 126. Brewyn, *A XVth century Guide Book to the principal Churches of Rome*, transl. and ed. by C. E. Woodruff, 1933, gives a detailed description of churches and relics. For early guide-books see L. Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, 1930. Among later works Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti dell' alma città di Roma*, 1625, has a useful list of relics of saints.

<sup>2</sup> See Capgrave, *Solace of Pilgrimes*, ed. by Mills, p. 71; Tafur, p. 38. Tuke-Malleson, *Handbook*, I, p. 88, and for a long description in 1452, Muffel, p. 7, who describes the relics, as does also Brewyn, p. 25 ff; Cp. C. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 140; Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, 2nd ed. 1625, p. 141 ff. Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran*, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> See Capgrave, p. 74. The story was that after St. John Evangelist had preached a sermon in the church, our Lord appeared to him and thanked him and then passed out of the church, but through which door was not known. Pilgrims therefore passed through all three doors.

Item above the high altar is an iron grill in which are kept the two heads of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.<sup>1</sup>

Item below the high altar is the tomb of St. John the Evangelist. When he laid himself therein a cloud of light appeared round the tomb, and when it was gone heavenly bread was found lying in his place.<sup>2</sup> At this altar is forgiveness of all sins.



Item close by is an altar dedicated to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen. Above it is a purple cloak which Christ wore when Pilate said *Ecce Homo*: behold the Man, also the very veil which his beloved Mother wrapt round him as he came down from the Cross, also a shirt of Christ and the hand-towel with which he washed the feet of his disciples and dried them on Holy Thursday on Mt. Sion at Jerusalem, also many other holy relics of

<sup>1</sup> Capgrave, p. 73, records that St. Peter's head was 'a brood face with mech her on his berd & that is of a grey colour be twix whit and blak'. The head of St. Paul was 'a long face balled with red her both berd and head'.

<sup>2</sup> The story was that the Evangelist laid himself down quick in his grave and when it was opened nothing was found in it but manna. It comes from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*, II, p. 589, dating back to the sixth century; *Golden Legend*, II, p. 174; and Sir George Warner's ed. of Mandeville, p. 163.

St. Mary Magdalen. We saw them displayed on Easter Day. In the Sacristy is the altar where St. John said Mass. On the altar is the Ark of the Old Testament<sup>1</sup> and above it is the rod of Moses which was in Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Above the Ark is a piece of the dish from which Christ our Lord ate with his disciples on Holy Thursday.

Item close by the entrance to the Golden Door we entered a chapel. Therein is an ancient stone on which they cast lots for Christ's clothing. It is said also that our blessed Lady sat thereon when Christ's body was taken from the Cross. In this chapel are three doors through which Christ went at Jerusalem to the place of his martyrdom. Whoever passes through with devotion has forgiveness of all sins, as I have written above.

Item here close by the church we saw a great metal man sitting on a metal horse, which was made in honour of a peasant who long ago became a captain and saved the city, through the notes of a cuckoo, from an enemy which was closely besieging it.<sup>2</sup>

Item after that we came to a chapel wherein is an ancient stone which shows five marks of fingers. On this stone the Mother of God fell in a swoon on hearing that her Son had been taken, and endeavouring to hold on to the stone, the outline of her hand remained on the stone. In this chapel above the doors is a wooden crucifix which men say is the first that was ever made in remembrance of the martyrdom of Jesus Christ.

Item close to this chapel we came to a marble staircase, eight-and-twenty steps high, which stood in Jerusalem at Pilate's house, up which staircase Christ was led to Pilate and was judged there.

<sup>1</sup> A table of relics from the Lateran Basilica, reproduced by Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 186, mentions the 'arca federis'. Cp. the *liber* printed by Hulbert, 'Modern Philology', xx, p. 405. Lépicier, *Indulgences*, p. 223, speaks of the wooden altar in the shape of an ark which escaped the fire of 1308. This may have been called the Ark.

<sup>2</sup> The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius now before the Capitol. Platner & Ashby, *Topographical Dict.* s.v. Columna M. Aurelii Antonini. The story was very popular in the Middle Ages. Rome was besieged by a foreign king. A gigantic armour-bearer (or a peasant) offered to deliver the city in return for a sum of money and a statue as a reward for his services. A cuckoo (in some versions an owl) had reported to him that the king was to be found nightly at the foot of a certain tree. The man seized the king and carried him off while the Romans attacked and took the enemy's camp. Gregorovius, III, p. 363; Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 43; Capgrave, p. 33; Jordan, II, p. 621.

We crawled up these steps on our knees, saying a Pater Noster on each step, and on one step is a cross enclosed within an iron grate. This is the place where Christ fell swooning on his knee. We were told that whoever climbs the steps receives for each step indulgence for nine years, and whoever crawls up on his knees redeems a soul from purgatory.

Item we then went into a chapel close by called Sancta Sanctorum. On the altar is a painted picture of our Lord Jesus which St. Luke painted. Furthermore in this chapel are many relics and many pardons. Here no one may say Mass except the Pope alone. Whoever goes in with devotion and repentance of his sins is forgiven all his sins both penalty and guilt. Further no woman is allowed to enter this chapel under pain of excommunication.<sup>1</sup> Item the indulgences to be gained in this first principal church are innumerable.

Item we went further to the second principal church dedicated to St. Maria Major, otherwise in German 'Our Lady of the Snow'.<sup>2</sup> In this church there is daily indulgence for forty-eight years, also as many quarantines and the third part forgiveness of all sins.

Item it was told me that St. Matthew the Apostle rests in person in the choir above the high altar, according as it is written *Tu qui legis hic scias quia requiescit in pace Mathias*. But I have found in Padua, also in Lombardy, a writing on a grave that they in truth believe that St. Matthew lies in person in that grave, but without his head which is said to be at Trier in Germany, as I shall describe hereafter. But I will leave it to God to decide these errors of priests. Item in another altar on the right hand lies St. Jerome the Teacher, but I was told that he lies in Bethlehem where he was first buried, after which he was carried

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Tafur, p. 39, who gives a surprising reason for the exclusion of women. The usual reason was connected with the death of John the Baptist or the fall of Adam. See generally Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum* (Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Fondation Piot, vol. 15) 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Capgrave, p. 83; Muffel, p. 31. For a time called S. M. ad Nives from the legend which related that the virgin appeared to a rich patrician in a dream one August night, commanding him to build a basilica on the spot where in the morning he should find fresh snow. The miracle took place and in the morning the patrician had the plan of the church traced in the August snows. Gregorovius, I, p. 108; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 342; Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 126. Another version places the miracle in May. Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 122.

to Constantinople. How he then came to Rome I leave to the learned to decide.

Item on the left side of the choir altar is the picture of our Lady which St. Luke painted, of which I have seen many.<sup>1</sup>

Item on Easter Day, after midday about vesper time I went with Master Johann Payll, doctor etc. provost at Wassenberg, into this church where these relics were displayed as described below.

Item the cradle in which Christ lay in childhood; item a piece of the holy Cross: item an arm of St. Thomas the Apostle which I have seen in very truth at Mackeron in the kingdom of India.<sup>2</sup> I have also seen the arm of St. Thomas in the sacristy of St. Servas Church at Maastricht. But these matters I must leave to God to decide. Item an arm of St. Cosmas; item the chin of St. Zachary; item an arm of St. Matthew the Apostle, an arm of St. Luke the Evangelist, and some of the hay on which Christ lay in the crib; item a shirt which Christ wore in his youth and many other relics.

Item we went then to the third principal church of the Holy Cross.<sup>3</sup> In the choir altar lie the two holy martyrs St. Caesarius and St. Anastasius, where is every day indulgence for forty-eight years, also as many quarantines and the third part forgiveness of all sins. Item in this church is a chapel called Jerusalem<sup>4</sup> where one finds the Treasure of Grace.<sup>5</sup> No woman may enter this chapel except on the second day of March, the day on which it was consecrated. Further no one can say Mass in this chapel except the Pope alone. Item in this chapel was St. Helena's bed-chamber. Above this altar are the following relics: the cord

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 134, 'as she sat to be painted by St. Luke'.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 163. On the relics generally, see Muffel, p. 31; Capgrave, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Tucker-Malleson, 1, p. 130; Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 145; Capgrave, p. 76. It derives its name from the precious relics brought from Jerusalem. Tafur, p. 41; Huelson, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> St. Helena's chapel was so called. Capgrave, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> 'Schatz der gnaeden.' This provides further evidence that von Harff copied from the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489 (Introd. p. xx). Muffel (p. 35) says 'do ist grosse gnad als zu dem heyligen grab'. The expression must mean, I think, the divine grace granted to St. Helena or the benefits conferred by the holy earth which she brought from Jerusalem. Brewyn (p. 53) says that Pope Sylvester, at the request of St. Helena, doubled all indulgences for those who visited the church. Muffel, Brewyn and Capgrave also describe the relics.

with which Christ was bound to the Cross before he was nailed to it. Item a piece of the cloak of our Lord Jesus Christ. Item a veil of our blessed Lady. Item a piece of the sponge from which Christ was given to drink on the Cross. Item twelve thorns from the crown with which Christ was crowned. Item a piece of the cloak of St. John the Baptist. Item ashes and blood of St. Laurentius. Item an ampulla full of balsam in which swims the head of St. Vincent. Item two goblets, in one of which is our blessed Lady's milk; in the other some of Christ's blood. Item a large piece of the Holy Cross and many other famous relics. Item above an arch [*sweyve voetgen?* flying arch] in a hole in the wall lies the inscription *Jhu xpi* written by Pilate.<sup>1</sup> Close by is a large piece of the cross of the good thief who hung on the right side. Item in this church in the sacristy is a piece of the holy Cross and a whole nail with which Christ was nailed to the Cross, and many other famous relics.

Item we went into the fourth principal church of St. Laurentius and St. Stephen,<sup>2</sup> both of whom lie in person beneath the choir altar. There are every day indulgences for forty-eight years, also as many quarantines and the third part forgiveness of all sins. Item in the church is a broad marble stone with many holes, on which stood the grid on which St. Laurentius was roasted. Item I was told that anyone who visits the two holy bodies and the stone with repentance of sins earns at each visit 7,000 years indulgence and untold blessings. Item these are the relics in this church. Item the shell with which St. Laurentius baptised St. Hippolitus<sup>3</sup> when he was in prison, without water, and the angel of God bade him touch the earth with his right hand. Whereupon he found a beautiful spring and scooping up water with this shell he baptised St. Hippolitus. Item they show also in this church

<sup>1</sup> The title written in three languages was found walled up in one of the arches of the apse during some restorations undertaken in 1492. Brewyn, p. 54, note 2. Cp. Rabus, *Rom, ein Pilgerfahrt im Jubeljahr 1575*, ed. by K. Schottenloher, 1925, p. 52: 'die ich mehrmals in Händen gehabt und mit etlichen Bischöfen zusammen gelesen hab, denn die Buchstaben sein sehr unleslich und das meiste Teil schier gar vergangen.'

<sup>2</sup> S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-mura. Capgrave, p. 79; Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 142; Muffel, p. 33; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> St. Hippolitus was a Roman officer whose duty it was to guard St. Laurence. He was so struck with his constancy that he was converted and baptised.



the stones with which St. Stephen was martyred on which the blood is still to be seen,<sup>1</sup> together with many other famous relics.

Item we went into the fifth principal church, outside the city, of St. Sebastian and St. Fabian,<sup>2</sup> both of whom lie in person in an altar. Whoever goes on his pilgrimage to this church with devotion and repentance of his sins gains 48,000 years indulgence. Item in this church are the ashes of the Seven Sleepers. Item here is a crypt under the earth to which the Christians fled and hid themselves from the evil heathen tyrants. There are now buried there forty-six holy Popes and many martyrs and virgins. Whoever passes through this crypt with devotion and repentance of his sins redeems a soul from purgatory. Item close to the rear altar lies St. Stephen, the Pope: above is an iron grid where is 7,000 years' indulgence. Item in this chapel lies St. Lucina who buried St. Sebastian and gave her palace where the church now stands for a church to the honour of God and the holy St. Sebastian. Item behind this church is a cave called catacombs<sup>3</sup> in which is a well, and in this were found the holy

<sup>1</sup> Capgrave (p. 82) mentions three stones 'al bloody' which were thrown at St. Stephen, also the stone on which St. Laurence's body was fried 'on which a man may yet see the blood and the fatnesse of his body'.

<sup>2</sup> S. Sebastiano. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 142 (*liber* of 1364); Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 135; Muffel, p. 36; Capgrave, p. 67; Brewyn, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> At this time hardly anything was known of the catacombs. Their re-discoverer was Antonio Bosio, who was born about 1576. Capgrave, p. 21, note 2; Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 26; Muffel, p. 37. On the burial place of SS. Peter and Paul, Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 54. The Seven Sleepers (also mentioned by Muffel, p. 38) come from the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489, as does also the description of the Catacombs (Introd. p. xix). The story of the Seven Sleepers belongs to Ephesus rather than Rome, but it appears in German passion plays of the fifteenth century, e.g. 'Das Koberger-Passional', printed in 1488 in Nuremberg. In that version the Sleepers entered a cave during the persecution of the Christians and slept for 372 years. When they awoke one of them, named Malchus, went to try and buy food, but the money he tendered was no longer current, and when Malchus was questioned he protested that he had been there only the day before when St. Peter and St. Paul were martyred. This came to the emperor's notice and he visited the Sleepers and was converted to Christianity. At his request the Sleepers disclosed the burial place of St. Peter and St. Paul and straightway departed this life, whereupon the emperor had their bodies placed in a rich coffin. F. M. Huber, 'Textbeiträge zur Siebenschläferlegende des MA.' in *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. 26 (1909), pp. 462, 469; also J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 169.

bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul which lay there since their martyrdom, three hundred & nineteen years after the birth of Christ, which bodies were shown to Pope Urban by the Seven Sleepers when they lay in the well. From the hour when they showed them to the Pope they fell down there and turned to ashes, as is shown to this day. Item in these caves or catacombs are as many indulgences and pardons as in St. Peter's church. Item in this church of St. Sebastian stands a latticed pillar to which St. Sebastian was tied when he was shot. Item there are also shown in this church the following relics: item an arm of St. Christopher. Item an arm of St. Andrew the Apostle. Item an arrow with which St. Sebastian was shot. Item the head of St. Lucina, virgin. Item the head of St. Calixtus, and many other famous relics. Item, at the back, close to this church, is another cave in which many holy martyrs are buried. Item outside the city, before we came to this church, is a stone by a holy house on which our Lord Jesus stood when St. Peter fled out of the city for fear of martyrdom. He saw Jesus standing on this stone and said, 'Lord whither goest thou?'<sup>1</sup> Jesus answered, 'I go to Rome to be crucified again.' Which when St. Peter heard, he reasoned with himself and returned to Rome. But it was St. Peter's intention to flee in order to avoid martyrdom.

Item we continued westwards outside round the city to the sixth principal church called St. Paul's. This was at one time a most beautiful church. Item beneath the high altar lie St. Peter and St. Paul one half of each.<sup>2</sup> Here is daily indulgence for forty-eight years, also as many quarantines and the third part forgiveness of all sins. Item beside the high altar on the left side stands a great wooden crucifix which spoke with St. Bridget, the

<sup>1</sup> Muffel, p. 39; Brewyn, p. 60; Capgrave, p. 162, 'Beyond this church not fer litil mor than a boweschote stant a crosse, they clepe it domine quo vadis'. Cp. Jordan, II, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> S. Paulo fuori. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 415; Capgrave, p. 66; Muffel, p. 27; Tuke-Malleson, I, p. 112. Cp. *Golden Legend*, IV, p. 25: 'And others say that Silvester, the Pope, would hallow the churches and took all the bones together and departed them by weight, great and small, and put that one half in one church, and that other half in that other', i.e. St. Peter's and St. Paul's. Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 126; Brewyn, p. 36 ff. The church was destroyed by fire in 1823 and rebuilt in 1854.

virgin.<sup>1</sup> Item we had shown to us the following relics in this church. Item an arm of St. Anne. Item St. Paul's staff. Item the chains which were laid on St. Paul when a prisoner. Item an arm of St. Nicholas. Item a piece of the Holy Cross. Item another piece of the cross of St. Andrew the Apostle.

Item from here we went south to a monastery of the order of St. Bernard called after St. Anastasius.<sup>2</sup> Here is the pillar on which St. Paul the Apostle was beheaded. In the monastery is also the head of St. Anastasius. Here is daily indulgence for 40,000 years. Item close to this monastery we went to the church of our blessed Lady of the Heavenly Ladder.<sup>3</sup> Here are the bones of St. Agacius and his company of 10,000 knights. In this chapel there are many pardons and indulgences. Item hard by at the back is a small chapel called *ad tres fontes*, at the three springs.<sup>4</sup> Here St. Paul was beheaded. The head gave three jumps on the ground and at each several jump a spring appeared, at each of which is daily nine hundred years' indulgence, and in the chapel is indulgence for a hundred years.

Item we went further round the city to the seventh principal church, St. Peter's Minster. On the road before we came to the city gate there was a stone on which was written that Pope St. Gregory,<sup>5</sup> when he had consecrated St. Peter's Minster, wished

<sup>1</sup> Capgrave, p. 67: 'Also in the cherch of seynt paule he twix the hye auter and the auter of seynt benedict is a ful fayr ymage of crist hanging on the crosse, which ymage spak certeyn wordes on to seynt bryde which tyme sche laye there in contemplacion, and the same ston that she rested on at that tyme is there closed in a grate'.

<sup>2</sup> Now SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 173; Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 123. The double name dates apparently from the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> S. M. Scala Coeli. The name is derived from a vision of St. Bernard who, when celebrating mass, saw a ladder reaching to Heaven, by which the souls freed from torment ascended. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 125. For St. Agacius and his 10,000 knights, see Brewyn, p. 51. 'They fought against the pagans in the time of the emperor Tiberius on the hill called the Holy Mount between the monastery of St. Paul and the church of St. Anastasius.'

<sup>4</sup> Now marked by the church of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, or *ad aquas Silvas*, erected in 1599. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 122; Nichols, *Marvels*, pp. 134, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Or St. Silvester. Cp. Capgrave, p. 8; Muffel, p. 27. The gate must be the Porta Ostiensis, now S. Paolo.

also on that same day to consecrate St. Paul's Minster, but as he came to this place the sun was declining towards the earth, whereupon he fell on his knees and prayed to God in heaven to lengthen the day, which happened, and he went forth and dedicated also St. Paul's Minster. Item not far off towards St. Paul's is a pillar where St. Peter and St. Paul took leave of each other as they were both carried out to their deaths.<sup>1</sup> But the uproar was so great that St. Peter had to be taken back, and there they parted from each other. Item continuing through the gate one comes on the left hand by the walls to where stand two pointed towers in which lie buried Remus and Romulus who first built Rome.<sup>2</sup> Item lower down on the same side towards the city is a little hillock called *Omnis terra*, 'earth of the whole world'.<sup>3</sup> When the Romans dominated the whole world, every country had to pay levies and tribute, but since the Romans had sufficient gold and silver, they ordained that each country of the world should bring by way of levy a pot of earth from that same country, whereupon they threw the pots of earth all on to one mound, and since the number of the debtors was so great a hill was made called *Omnis Terra*.

Item we went forward to the church of St. Peter. On the way we went into the monastery of St. Alexius which was the palace of Alexius' father.<sup>4</sup> Inside is still shown the flight of steps beneath which he hid in poverty, and would not show himself to his father. In this church are also the following relics. Item St. Boniface's head. Item a picture of our blessed Lady which has performed many miracles. Item a stem of the thorn from which the Crown was made which was pressed down upon our Lord Jesus' blessed head.

<sup>1</sup> On the parting of St. Peter and St. Paul, see Muffel, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The Pyramid of Cestius. See Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Sep. C. Cestii. It was called Sepulchrum Remi and Meta or Sepulchrum Romuli in the Middle Ages. Jordan, II, p. 430; Urlichs, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Capgrave, p. 50; Platner and Ashby, s.v. Testaceus Mons. Modern research has established that the mound is entirely formed of broken vases used by the Romans for the conveyance of agricultural products from the provinces to the capital.

<sup>4</sup> S. Alessio. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 171; Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 173; Capgrave, p. 15; Muffel, p. 60.

Item we went on across the Tiber to St. Peter's Minster,<sup>1</sup> which lies on a hill called Vaticano. To this church one ascends a flight of stone stairs, thirty-six steps high. Whoever ascends or descends these steps with devotion and penitence for his sins obtains seven years' indulgence for each step. Item when one reaches the top it is called 'In 'The Paradise'. There in the centre is a great brass ball<sup>2</sup> which stood formerly on the church of Maria Rotunda when it was a temple of idols. When the church was consecrated as a Christian church the devil carried off the ball and threw it into the 'Tiber. It has been set up here as a marvel. Item close by stands a little chapel where St. Peter often said Mass,<sup>3</sup> wherein are great indulgences and pardons. Item here in St. Peter's Minster are a hundred altars and at each altar one obtains eighteen years' indulgence and as many quarantines. Item from these hundred altars seven have been chosen as high altars, which have many more indulgences than the others. Item the first high altar is dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Item the second high-altar is called the Altar of Souls. I was told that if one says Mass at this altar it counts for a soul, which is forthwith released from purgatory. Item the third high altar is the Altar of Pope St. Gregory, wherein he lies in person. Above this altar is a tabernacle on which is shown the head of St. Andrew the Apostle. Item the fourth high altar is called our blessed Lady's Altar. It stands close to St. Peter's chapel.

<sup>1</sup> On Constantine's Basilica see Marucchi, *Basiliques et Eglises de Rome*, 2nd ed. 1900, p. 110 ff, with plans and drawings. The foundation of the existing church was laid in 1506. 'Tucker-Malleson, 1, p. 46. Muffel (p. 25) gives 105 altars. Von Harff, following the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489, gives 100 (Introd., p. XIX). Cp. Capgrave, p. 62, note 2. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma* (liber of 1364), p. 138 gives 110.

<sup>2</sup> This stood in the court in the front of old St. Peter's. Muffel (p. 19) mentions it as having been brought from Troy to Constantinople and thence to Rome, and placed on the church of St. Mary Rotunda on six marble pillars. Here again von Harff copies from the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489 (Introd. p. XVIII). The story that the pine-cone came from the Pantheon is a medieval fable. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Mausoleum Hadrianus, and Pantheon.

<sup>3</sup> Muffel, p. 19; Capgrave, p. 136. The chapel is unknown to the Roman topographers and seems to be mentioned only in the *libri indulgentiarum*. E. S. de Beer in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 184, p. 130, and cp. the block book cited by Hulbert in *Modern Philology*, xx, p. 420: 'Item da is ayn capel da hat Sand Peter messe in gelesen ofte'.

Item the fifth high altar is the Altar of Pope St. Leo where he lies buried in person. Item the sixth altar is St. Lucien's Altar. Item the seventh high altar is the Veronica Altar: it stands close by the door as one enters on the right hand. Above the altar is a tabernacle where are shown the Veronica and a piece of the spear which was thrust into Christ's side, which has only recently come there.<sup>1</sup> Here are great indulgences and pardons to those who come to see what is shown. A Roman obtains 8,000 years' indulgence.<sup>2</sup> Those that come from this side of the mountains obtain, as often as the relics are shown, 12,000 years' indulgence, as many quarantines and a third part forgiveness of all sins, from penalty and guilt. Item close to this chapel is the Golden Gate which is walled up, with an altar where the Christmas Mass is sung on Christmas Day. Item not far from here is an altar to SS. Simon and Jude where they both lie in person. Above this altar, high up, hangs the cord<sup>3</sup> with which Judas Iscariot hanged himself. Item below the high altar is a crypt in which lie St. Peter and St. Paul, half of each. Here is daily indulgence for 4,000 years. Item close to this choir altar lie buried 12,000 martyrs. Item in this minster are twelve white stone columns which are richly carved and stood at Jerusalem in Solomon's temple.<sup>4</sup> On one of these very pillars Christ rested his back when he was preaching in the temple. This pillar is enclosed by an iron railing. It is related that if a possessed person is shut in there, from that hour he is quit of his evil sprit. Item beside the choir altar in a tabernacle is a host of the holy sacrament which was consecrated by St. Peter himself. Item on the right hand one enters a chapel, in which is a pillar on which hangs a crucifix which a poor woman kissed with devotion.<sup>5</sup> This was

<sup>1</sup> The head of the spear of Longinus which pierced our Saviour's side was sent by the Sultan Bajazet to Pope Innocent VIII in 1492. Gregorovius, VII, I, p. 316; Pastor, V, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Or 3,000 years for Romans, 9,000 for other people and 12,000 to those who cross the sea. Capgrave, p. 64, note 1. Cp. *liber* of 1381-82 printed by Huelssen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, p. 129; and for a miracle not recorded by von Harff, Muffel, p. 20, and Capgrave, p. 135. A picture of our Lady miraculously shifted its position when the rope was placed near it.

<sup>4</sup> Capgrave, p. 65, and note 3, p. 66 for the inscription on one of the columns.

<sup>5</sup> The same story is related by Muffel, p. 24.

seen by a rich woman who desired also to kiss the image but wished it first to be washed after the poor woman had kissed it. But the crucifix rose immediately on high where it can be seen to this day, and refused to suffer the rich woman to kiss it. Item beside the high altar is an altar-stone of red marble upon which were divided the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, of which one half of each was taken to St. Paul's church, the other half remaining in this church. Item on the left side of the choir altar is a chapel railed round with iron in which is a chair whereon St. Peter sat during his papal office.<sup>1</sup> There is also a little chain with which St. Peter's hands were bound in prison. Item as one enters St. Andrew's chapel there is in the centre an altar beneath which lies St. John Chrysostom. Item in St. Petronella's chapel lies St. Petronella in person in a grave. She was St. Peter's daughter. Also in this chapel is an ancient stone on which St. Peter lay bewailing his sins, after he had betrayed Christ. A groove made by the tears can still be seen in the stone.<sup>2</sup> Item in St. Martin's chapel is a large metal image, which was made in St. Peter's honour, showing him sitting there in a chair and stretching out his right foot. I was told that whoever kisses the foot with devotion and repentance of his sins obtains daily as many pardons and indulgences as if he had kissed the foot of the Pope himself.<sup>3</sup>

Item as one leaves St. Peter's church and passes to the left there stands the Pope's palace, very richly built and extensive, with beautiful courts, pillars and rare apartments surrounded by beautiful pleasure gardens.<sup>4</sup> Item we went to

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly one of the most ancient thrones in existence. Tuckermallesson, 1, p. 61; Muffel, p. 23; Nichols, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Muffel, p. 22. The grooves were two spans long and at each end the breadth of a finger.

<sup>3</sup> Muffel (p. 23) adds that any one who kissed the foot was certain to return to Rome.

<sup>4</sup> The buildings of this period are those immediately surrounding the court of the Pappagallo and include the Borgia wing built by Nicholas V (1447-1455); the Sistine chapel built by Sixtus IV (1471-1484); the Torre Borgia added by Alexander VI (1492-1503) and the Sala Regia and Ducale. This was the palace of the Popes from the time of Nicholas V for nearly another century. Tafur, who was in Rome in 1436, describes the Pope's dwelling as a mediocre place and ill-kept, p. 36.

the right, a little distance round the church, to where stands a high pointed stone like a four cornered cone, the height of six spears, resting on four gilt apples on which it has been erected with great art.<sup>1</sup> I asked how and why this stone had been placed there and was told that a Roman emperor was lord over the peoples of the whole world. As he was in life the lord over all peoples, so he wished also to be the highest over all mankind after his death, and ordained that after his death they should burn his body to ashes, after which they were to place his ashes in a small coffin and put it on the top of the stone, so that when he was buried he would still be the highest lord above all mankind. One sees beneath on a stone the following verses:

Cesar tantus erat quo nullus maior in vrbe,  
Sed in modico nunc tam magnus clauditur antro.  
Intra scriptura stat Cesaris alta columpna  
Regia structura quanta non extat in aula.  
Si lapis est unus qua fuit arte leuatus,  
Et si sunt plures dic ubi congeries.

Item we saw in Rome many other churches which I will set down separately with their relics, indulgences and pardons, which are for the most part written on tablets<sup>2</sup> from which I have copied them. Item at St. Maria Transtyber, in German 'Our Lady of the Oil Spring',<sup>3</sup> since there appeared there two springs of oil by the choir altar beside the two railed windows, which sprang up at the time and on the night of Christ's birth. Item in the choir altar lie St. Calixtus, St. Innocent, St. Julius, a Pope, and St. Quirinus, a bishop. In this church is daily two

<sup>1</sup> On this obelisk see Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Obeliscus Vaticanus. The legend that the ashes of Julius Caesar were contained in the gilt ball at the top was prevalent during the Middle Ages. Jordan, II, pp. 429, 625; Urlichs, *Codex*, p. 105. The gilt ball is now in the Museo dei Conservatori. The obelisk was called popularly St. Peter's Needle. The inscription varies, and different readings are given by Capgrave, p. 23, note 1. Cp. Nichols, p. 71. The obelisk was placed where it now stands by Sixtus V in 1586. Tafur (p. 37) also relates the story. See Graf. I, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> *The Stucions of Rome* (1440-5) E.E.T.S. (original Series N. 15, 1866) refers to these tablets, e.g. pp. 163, 173.

<sup>3</sup> S. Maria in Trastevere. Nichols, pp. 115, 148; Muffel, p. 50; Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 291; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 152.



hundred years' indulgence. Item across the Tiber at the church of St. Cecilia<sup>1</sup> she lies in person, also St. Tyburtius, St. Valerianus, St. Urbanus, St. Lucinus, St. Primus and St. Maximianus, a Pope. They all lie in person beneath an altar in the crypt. Here is daily a hundred years' indulgence and the third part forgiveness of all sins. Item on the island of St. Bartholomew lies the saint in person above the high altar in a tabernacle.<sup>2</sup> There are also lying there in person St. Paulinus, St. Albertus, St. Marcellus and St. Superancius. In this church is daily a thousand years' indulgence. Item in the church of St. George<sup>3</sup> are these relics; his holy head, our blessed Lady's milk, her veil, a piece of her clothes and St. George's spear. In this church is daily indulgence for a thousand years. Item in our blessed Lady's Schola Greca<sup>4</sup> is a stone which Virgil made, having a hole in it with the figure of a lion.<sup>5</sup> Anyone who in former times thrust in his finger and swore a false oath, his finger fell off. The stone lost its power through a false woman. Item above this church on the hill at St. Sabina lies the saint in person.<sup>6</sup> There lie here in person also St. Theodorus, St. Alexander, a Pope, and St. Clementius.

<sup>1</sup> S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Capgrave, p. 109; Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 208; Muffel, p. 42; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> S. Bartolomeo all' Isola. Tucker-Malleson I, p. 198; Muffel, p. 50; Nichols, p. 145; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> S. Giorgio in Velabro. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 236; Capgrave, p. 87; Muffel, pp. 41, 55; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 147 (*liber of fifteenth century*).

<sup>4</sup> S. Maria in Cosmedin, or in Schola Graeca. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 273; Capgrave, p. 167; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> The enormous stone mask known as Bocca della Verità, originally affixed to the church and placed under the portico in 1652. Capgrave, p. 168; Graf, II, p. 139. The story was that Virgil made it, and that women whose chastity was in question were required to put a hand into the mouth and swear their innocence. If they swore falsely the mouth closed and bit off the hand. A woman who was suspected, with good reason, by her husband and who was required to undergo this ordeal, persuaded her lover to masquerade as a madman and run up and embrace her at the place of trial. This he did, but, as the woman expressed great indignation, the husband let it pass, thinking that the man was in fact mad. Thereupon the woman put her hand into the mouth and swore that no man had embraced her except her husband and the madman, and as this was the truth she escaped with her hand. Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 337; J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, 1934, p. 207 ff.

<sup>6</sup> S. Sabina. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 430.

There is here also a large piece of the holy Cross. In this church is daily three hundred years' indulgence. Item in the monastery of St. Clement<sup>1</sup> he lies in person and St. Ignacius lies beneath the choir altar. Here is daily forty years' indulgence. Item close by we went into a little chapel where stands a Pope with a child carved in stone. This is Pope Jutta who died there<sup>2</sup>. Item on the other side of the spiegelborch is a flat stone whereon the woman stood who betrayed Virgil.<sup>3</sup> For this reason he extinguished all

<sup>1</sup> S. Clemente. Capgrave, p. 105; Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 214; Muffel, p. 42; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Capgrave, p. 74; Muffel, p. 18; Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 139. She is said to have succeeded Leo IV who died in 855 and to have filled the see of St. Peter for more than two years. The legend makes its appearance in the thirteenth and was generally believed until the end of the fifteenth century. The image stood between St. Clement's and the Colosseum. Adam of Usk, *Chronicle*, ed. by E. M. Thompson, 1904, p. 263, note 1. The place is marked on a plan mentioned by Nichols as near St. Clement's. The newly-elected Pope in his procession to St. John Lateran went out of his way in order to avoid it. The statue was removed by Sixtus V. Gregorovius, III, pp. 111-114. A traveller of 1575 writes of the statue. 'Ist ein antiqualische Statua keins Papsts, viel weniger einer Pöpstin, sondern, wie ichs dafür halt, der Göttin Cybele.' Rabus, *Rom, ein Münchener Pilgerfahrt im Jubeljahr 1575*, edited by Dr. Karl Schottenloher, Munich, 1925, p. 72. By this time the statue had been removed and was preserved elsewhere. The story was that Pope Joan was overtaken with the pangs of labour between the Colosseum and St. Clement's and gave birth to a boy and died. The story is related at length in the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489, but von Harff cuts it short. Possibly he thought it unedifying. The mention of a chapel is curious, but is confirmed by the *Pilgerbuch*: 'Dar nach so kompt mā zu einem kleinen capellin zwischen Coliseo und Sant Clement.'

<sup>3</sup> For the story see Comparetti, p. 327. Virgil was in love with the daughter of an emperor of Rome. She induced him to come to her chamber at night and arranged to draw him up in a basket, but left him suspended in mid-air to the great amusement of the people. His revenge took the form related in the text. Virgil made it clear that the only way to re-kindle the fires was for each person to fetch it from the lady. She was brought naked into the public square for the purpose. Graf, II, p. 250; J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, 1934, pp. 136 and 198. The place in question has been identified as the Meta Sudans, Spargo, p. 283. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Meta Sudans. The Spiegelborch is the Colosseum. Von Harff is copying from the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489: 'Itz zu der anderen siten der spiegelburg da stat eyn simpel gemeur: da stunt die frauwe uff die Virgilium het gehoenet', etc. The name is explained by Muffel, p. 57. 'Item darnach ist die simbel (rund) spiegelpurck, darin man alle hubscheit und spil getriben hat, und auf den dechern zugesehen und ist drivach obeneinander gar köstlichen und ein spiegel da gelegen darin man geschen alle ding in der werlt das Vespasianus gemacht und Coliseus genant ist.' Cp. Jordan, II, p. 510.

the fires in Rome, and the Romans had to come to this stone on which the woman stood to obtain their fire from her shame. Item close here stood the triumphal arch of the great palace.<sup>1</sup> Item close by is a church to St. Maria Nova.<sup>2</sup> In it is preserved some of the bread which remained over when our Lord Jesus fed five hundred persons with five loaves of bread. In this church beneath the choir altar lie in person, St. Nemecius, St. Tribunus, St. Justinian's father, St. Simphorianus, St. Olympus, St. Exemperius and St. Lucilla, a virgin, with many other countless relics. In this church is daily two hundred years' indulgence, with as many quarantines.

Item close to this church is a palace in ruins which the Emperor Octavianus caused to be built.<sup>3</sup> He enquired of the idols and of the oracles how long the palace would stand, whereupon a voice spoke from heaven that it should stand until a maid in virgin purity should bear a child. Then spake the Emperor Octavianus: 'it will therefore stand for ever, because such a thing is not possible.' Therefore he caused to be cut into the wall of the temple: *Templum eternitatis*, 'a temple of eternity'. When Christ our Lord was born of Mary, the pure maid, part of the temple fell down and each year at Christmas a piece of the wall of the temple falls down.

Item we proceeded further behind the Capitolium to St.

<sup>1</sup> The arch of Titus, then half-ruined and built into the form of a tower and supported only by the convent buildings of S. Maria Nuova which immediately adjoined it. Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 768. In the Middle Ages it was the stronghold of the Frangipani. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Arcus Titi.

<sup>2</sup> S. Francesca Romana was also called S. M. Nuova to distinguish it from S. M. Antiqua, recently excavated. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 230; Muffel, p. 55; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> This is another story of Virgil as magician. A number of legends became associated with a marvellous palace, called Salvatio Romae, which was attributed to Virgil and in which the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and the Capitol all play a part. The legend has several variants, but it is related in the *Mirabilia* that in the palace of Romulus there were temples of Peace and Concord where Romulus placed a golden statue, saying that it would not fall until a virgin bore a son. Urlichs, *Codex*, p. 93; Capgrave, p. 16 (paleys of romulus). Others refer the story to the Temple of Pallas, or the Temple of Peace, others again to the Salvatio Romae. Comparetti, pp. 313, 314; J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, p. 118 ff. Gregorovius, IV, p. 672. Cp. Ara Coeli, below, p. 36.

Adrian's church,<sup>1</sup> where lie St. Mary and St. Martha in person. In the wall above the choir altar are the three children, Sydrach, Mysach and Abdenago who were cast into the fire at Babylon, now called Cairo. Item on the left hand of the choir altar stands an altar upon which are our blessed Lady's milk and clothing. Item on the right hand on the altar is a piece of St. Peter's beard, and some of St. Cecilia's clothing. Item there lie also in this church St. Anastacius and St. Pascasius, Popes, who bestowed daily in the church 2,000 years' absolution.

Item we went here behind the Capitolium to the church of our blessed Lady de Gracie.<sup>2</sup> Here is a large piece of the holy Cross, a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, a piece of Moses' rod and many other notable relics. In this church is daily two hundred years' indulgence.

Item also behind the Capitolium is a church ad Vincula Petri, called St. Peter's prison,<sup>3</sup> in which is a spring where St. Peter lay a prisoner in the time of Nero the Emperor. There St. Peter converted to the Christian faith Processus and Marsianus, the two knights who guarded St. Peter in prison. As he had no water with which to baptise them he called upon God for water. Immediately an angel's voice spoke: 'Peter, strike close beside you on the ground.' St. Peter found at once beside him a spring, from which he was able to baptise the two knights and others with them. In this church is daily two hundred years' absolution.

Item in the church of St. Mark<sup>4</sup> is some of the holy blood of

<sup>1</sup> S. Adriano. Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 162. I do not understand the reference to Mary and Martha, but it comes from the *Pilgerbuch* of 1489: 'zu sant Adriano die kirch lyt hinder dem Capitolio, da ligē sant Marij und Marta lybhafftig.' Cp. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 147 (*liber* of fifteenth century) 'ubi repositi sunt tres pueri Syriaci, Sydrach, Misach et Abednego sedentes in camino ignis ardentis et cantantes Benedictus es dñs Deus', etc.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. de Gracia, S. M. de Cannapara, Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 321. It was profaned in the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> S. Pietro in Carcere. The Mamartine Prison, the ancient carcer and traditional prison of St. Peter and St. Paul. Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 33. Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 313; Muffel, p. 57; Cp. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 153 (*liber* of 1364).

<sup>4</sup> S. Marco. Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 265; Capgrave, p. 115; Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 147; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 308.

our Lord Jesus. Also part of the purple robe in which he was mocked, and the blood of many thousand martyrs. In this church is forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt.

Item in the church of the Twelve Apostles<sup>1</sup> lie the Apostles St. Philip and St. James; also St. Nazarius, St. Celsus, St. Protho, St. Jacintus, St. Grysant, St. Darius, and St. Eugenius, a Pope. Item on the right hand of the choir altar is an altar wherein lies St. Eugenius in person, and to the left in the altar lies St. Sabina in person. In this church is daily indulgence for 1,000 years.

Item we proceeded to St. Marcellus.<sup>2</sup> There lies St. Felicitas with her seven sons. Also there is here the head of St. Foco, the Emperor. In this church is daily indulgence for two hundred years. Item at St. Sylvester's<sup>3</sup> is a monastery wherein is St. John the Baptist's head, also the head of St. Silvester, also our blessed Lady's dress. Item here lie in person St. Paul, St. Stephen, St. Dionysius, a Pope, and many other holy bodies. In this church is daily indulgence for 1,000 years.

Item at St. Augustine's<sup>4</sup> is buried St. Monica, St. Augustine's mother, and there are many other relics. Here is daily indulgence for one hundred years.

Item we proceeded to our blessed Lady de Populo,<sup>5</sup> which is a monastery of the Augustines, keeping his observances. The monastery lies close by the Porta Flaminia, through which one

<sup>1</sup> SS. Apostoli. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 184; Capgrave, p. 102; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> S. Marcello. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 262. There were several saints named Phocas who have of course no connection with the emperor of that name. This St. Foco is probably the gardener saint of Sinope. Capgrave, p. 140, note 2. Cp. Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti dell' alma Città di Roma*, 2nd ed. 1625, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> S. Silvestro in Capite. The name 'in capite' was adopted in the twelfth century when the head of John the Baptist was removed to it. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 467. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 330. Capgrave, p. 132, note 3; Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 137; Muffel (p. 45) says that 546 holy bodies lie there, the names being inscribed beneath an altar.

<sup>4</sup> S. Agostino. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 170; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 528.

<sup>5</sup> S. M. de Popolo. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 289; Muffel (p. 53) tells much the same story. Cp. Capgrave, p. 163; Graf, I, p. 354; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 150 (*liber* of fifteenth century). The Pope was Paschal II.

enters coming from our country. In this church is a picture of our Lady which St. Luke made, which performs many miracles. Item where this monastery stood was formerly a nut-tree on which many devils lived who plagued all those who passed to & fro, and no one knew whence they came. It was shown to St. Pascasius, the Pope, in a dream that he should have the nut-tree cut down and cause a church to be built on the spot in honour of our blessed Lady. The Pope made a great procession, which he accompanied, to the nut-tree, and struck the first blow himself, and the tree was at once rooted up. Beneath the tree, deep under the ground, they found a coffin in which lay Nero, the wicked tyrant, who slew St. Peter and St. Paul and many other martyrs. The Pope caused it to be burnt to ashes with the nut-tree and thrown into the Tiber. The church was then built in honour of our blessed Lady. In this church is daily indulgence for 3,000 years.

Item at St. Eusebius<sup>1</sup> is a monastery keeping the observances of St. Jerome's order. Here in person lie St. Vincentius, St. Gregory, St. Stephan, priest, and St. Theodorus. In this church is daily seven hundred years' indulgence, with many quarantines and the third part forgiveness of all sins.

Item in St. Vijt's church,<sup>2</sup> called the Shambles, is a railed stone on which many thousands of christians were cut to pieces. Here is daily indulgence for 7,000 years.

Item we went a little distance to St. Praxedis' church<sup>3</sup> where is a third of the column at which our Lord was scourged. There are buried also in this church fourteen holy Popes. In this church there is daily indulgence for eighty years with a third part forgiveness of all sins. Item close by we went to the church

<sup>1</sup> S. Eusebio. Capgrave, p. 133; Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 227; Muffel, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> SS. Vito e Modesto. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 155 (*liber* of 1364). Cp. Muffel, p. 43, also called *ad macellum martyrum* from the stone on which the martyrs were believed to have been put to death. Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 145. The stone is still in the church. It is the tombstone of a Roman advocate, L. Aelius Tertius, of the second century, A.D. Huelsen, *Introd. to the Pilgerbuch* of 1489, p. 58. Lépiciér, *Indulgences*, p. 300, quotes an inscription on a wall of this church granting an indulgence for 1,000 years and 120 days.

<sup>3</sup> S. Prassede. Tüker-Malleson, I, p. 319; Muffel, pp. 46, 55; Capgrave, p. 147; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 154.

of St. Martin<sup>1</sup> which stands on a hill. There lies St. Braxeda in person with twenty-nine holy bodies and many relics, from which pardons are obtained. There is a monastery here in honour of our blessed Lady's brothers.

Item to St. Potenciana<sup>2</sup> which lies under St. Maria Major. In this church they showed us a bench whereon Christ sat on Holy Thursday for supper. Item here is also a chapel in which St. Peter often said Mass. There is also another altar stone whereon a great miracle was worked by a priest.

Item there lie also in this church 3,000 martyrs, and close by stands the well in which they were martyred and from each martyr one obtains daily one year's indulgence.

Item in the church of St. Laurentius<sup>3</sup> is a nunnery where St. Laurentius was kept a prisoner underground. Here he converted Lucillus and Ippolitus, the two knights to the Christian faith. In this church is daily two hundred years' indulgence.

Item we went further to St. Peter ad Vincula<sup>4</sup> which stands hard by on a hill. In this church is the chain with which St. Peter was chained in prison. In this church is daily two hundred years' indulgence.

Item to Our Lady Ara Celi.<sup>5</sup> There one ascends a stone staircase, about one hundred and eighty-eight steps. This church was the palace of the Emperor Octavianus. Here Sybil, the prophetess, saw a gold cross moving round the sun, in which sat

<sup>1</sup> S. Martino ai Monti. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 302; Capgrave, p. 131; Muffel, p. 45 ('sand Mertein auf dem perg'); Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> S. Pudenciana. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 328; Capgrave, p. 117. He mentions 3,000 bodies of saints, so does Muffel (in a cistern), p. 43. Cp. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 153 (*liber* of fifteenth century).

<sup>3</sup> S. Lorenzo in Fonte.

<sup>4</sup> S. Pietro in Vincoli. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 314; Muffel, pp. 42, 50; Capgrave, p. 96; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 153 (*liber* of 1364).

<sup>5</sup> S. M. Ara Coeli. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 149, where the legend is related from the *libri indulgentiarum*. Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 190. The story was that the senators, seeing Octavianus to be of such great beauty, and of such prosperity and peace, desired to worship him as a god, but the emperor consulted the Sibyl who showed him the vision related in the text. Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 35; Urlichs, *Codex*, p. 95; Jordan, II, p. 619; Capgrave, pp. 39, 42; Graf, I, p. 308. The stone with the footmarks is now in the Capitulum Museum. Huelsen, *Introd. to the Pilgerbuch* of 1489, p. 60.

a beautiful maiden with a golden crown and holding in her arms a beautiful little child. She foretold to the Emperor Octavianus that the little child would be lord over all lords in heaven and earth. When the Emperor learnt this he forthwith caused an altar to be made here and offered prayers to the child with great reverence, and refused to allow himself henceforth to be worshipped by the people. This altar still stands in this church. In this church is also the grave of St. Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine. Item here lie also in person St. Habundus, St. Archemius and St. Habundancius. Item here is also a picture which St. Luke painted, which performs many miracles. Item in front of the choir is a four-cornered stone enclosed with an iron railing, upon which an angel stood miraculously, as one can see from his footsteps which are still there. In this church are many relics, pardons and indulgences.

Item to St. Angelo.<sup>1</sup> The church is in the fish-market. There lie St. Symphonius and his company with many relics. Here are obtained many pardons and indulgences.

Item we proceeded to St. Maria Rotunda<sup>2</sup> which was a temple of idols. Now it is consecrated in honour of our blessed Lady. It is a beautiful round church without a window. High up is a round hole through which the daylight shines. Item in the choir altar lie St. Racijs and St. Anastacius in person. Here is daily forty years' indulgence with as many quarantines. Item in front of this church are sculptured two red lions which rest on two columns.

Item at St. Eustagio<sup>3</sup> lies the saint in person with his wife Theopista, also his two sons Theopiste and Agapitus. All four were martyred together. Pope St. Celestinus himself laid them in this altar. In the sacristy are also many relics to which are given daily two hundred years' indulgence.

<sup>1</sup> S. Angelo in Pescheria. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 145, 'in e. S. Anglorum ubi requiescit S. Felicitas cum VII filiis suis et corpus Symphorisae cum VII filiis suis.' *Liber* of fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Rotunda, the Pantheon. See Nichols, *Marvels*, pp. 46, 82; Muffel, p. 46; Capgrave, p. 37; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> S. Eustachio. Tüker-Malleson, 1, p. 229; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 147.



Item in St. Maria Monte Celi<sup>1</sup> lie St. Nympha, a virgin, and St. Marcellianus, a bishop. Here are also many relics and pardons.

Item close to the market called Campefloyr [Campo dei Fiori] is the church of St. Martineel.<sup>2</sup> Here is the coat of our Lord Jesus Christ which Mary herself made for him in his youth and which grew with him. In this church are also many relics and many pardons and indulgences.

Item we went thence across the Angel's Bridge. On the right hand is a church called Our Lady Transpodiana.<sup>3</sup> There stand two pillars where St. Peter and St. Paul were martyred. In this church is daily three hundred years' indulgence.

Item we went near St. Peter's church to St. James,<sup>4</sup> wherein is an altar stone on which our Lord Jesus Christ was presented in the Temple at Jerusalem. In this church is daily 1,500 years' indulgence.

Item at St. Spiritus is a rich hospital<sup>5</sup> in which is an arm of the Apostle St. Andrew, also Aaron's rod and Moses' table inscribed with golden letters. I do not know however if it is the very table which he received from God in Heaven on Mt. Oreb. This I must leave to God to decide. In this church is daily 40,000 years' indulgence, also the third part forgiveness of all sins.

Item we proceeded to St. Peter in Montorio,<sup>6</sup> a monastery of the order of St. Francis, keeping his observances. On this place St. Peter was martyred and crucified. Here are great pardons and indulgences.

<sup>1</sup> S. M. in Montielli. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> S. Martinello. S. Martino de Panarella. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 383, called also S. Martino al Monte della Pietà.

<sup>3</sup> S. Maria in Traspontina. Tucker-Malleson, 1, p. 291; Nichols, *Morrels*, p. 137: 'Where is the place in which Saint Peter was crucified'; Capgrave, p. 161; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 152 (*liber of 1364*). The column at which St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have been scourged is still shown.

<sup>4</sup> S. Giacomo di Scossacavalli. Capgrave, p. 25, note 3; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> Hospital of S. Spirito, founded in 1193 on the site of a hospice which Ine, king of the W. Anglians, had established there for his countrymen in 717.

<sup>6</sup> S. Pietro in Montorio. Tucker-Malleson, 1, p. 313; Capgrave, p. 70. Cp. Muffel, p. 28; Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 418.

Item within Rome there are many other churches with many relics, great pardons and indulgences, which would take too long for me to describe at present. I must therefore break off short lest the pilgrim or reader should be weary of it all. I will therefore describe certain worldly matters which are to be found there.

Item Rome was a very large and spacious city, but now it is more than half destroyed. Item I was told that Rome still has some 361 towers and in the surrounding defences 6090 fortified towers and watch-houses. It is said to measure in circumference twenty Lombard miles.<sup>1</sup>

Item Rome has fifteen open gates<sup>2</sup> and on this side of the Tiber three gates. Item in the city stands a very fine old palace called ad Colesum.<sup>3</sup> Outside it is walled and round with many small arches one above the other. Inside is a broad round space which can be reached by stone steps at each end of the palace. We were told that in former times the lords stood above each other on the steps, and looked down on to this space, watching triumphs, fights, combats, and wild animals fighting together.

<sup>1</sup> The 361 towers come from the *Mirabilia* (Nichols, p. 6; Jordan, II, p. 607) which gives also 6900 battlements, and a circumference of 22 miles. See Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 726 on the aspect of the city about the year 1500, on the whole a melancholy picture. There is a bird's-eye view of Rome in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* printed in 1493. Nichols, *Marvels* (p. 187) has a dissertation on medieval plans with a reproduction of a plan c. 1475. There is a sixteenth-century view in Münster's *Cosmographia*. See also Ashby, *Topographical Study in Rome in 1581*, Roxburghe Club, 1916. When Tafur was in Rome in 1436 there were parts within the walls which looked like thick woods, and wild beasts bred in the caves, p. 43. Cp. Gregorovius, VI, II, p. 618, where it is stated that in 1411 five large wolves were killed in the Vatican gardens. At the end of the fifteenth century the population numbered scarcely 70,000 inhabitants. Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 729. There are sixteenth-century views of many of the churches in Rabus, *Rom, ein Münchener Pilgerfahrt im Jubeljahr 1575*, ed. by K. Schottenloher, Munich, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> See Nichols, *Marvels*, p. 6; Capgrave, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> For the legends associated with the Colosseum see Nichols, p. 62; Capgrave, pp. 33, 34, note 5. The reference to the performance on Good Friday is interesting and unusual. Some of the oldest monuments of Italian literature belong to the mysteries which the confraternity of the Gonfalone performed on Good Friday in the Colosseum. They made use not only of a portion of the rows of seats in the Amphitheatre, but also of the ancient palace of the Anibaldi which had been built within it, where possibly the actors assembled and dressed. Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 649. The performance had the effect in some degree of preserving the Colosseum from falling into complete ruin. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, v, p. 55.

Item in this space in the old palace we saw performed on Good Friday the Passion of our Lord Jesus. This was acted by living people, even the scourging, the Crucifixion, and how Judas hanged himself. They were all the children of wealthy people, and it was therefore done orderly and richly.

Item on Holy Thursday<sup>1</sup> I was taken by Dr. Payl etc. to St. Peter's Minster where we saw the showing of the Veronica. Afterwards the Pope was carried through the church to the Square with all his cardinals. We were taken there secretly. The Pope then pronounced the ban against all public usurers, upon those who committed crimes against the church, and against those who carried steel and iron to the heathen, and many other matters which are against the Christian faith. This took about an hour. When all the articles had been read he excommunicated them with candles and bells, consigning them to eternal ban. When all this was finished the Pope gave the benediction to the four corners of the world. There were crowds down in St. Peter's Square, on the steps, and all the streets were full of those who came to see and receive the benediction. Item about twelve at noon the following took place.<sup>2</sup> The Pope was taken to his palace into a very beautiful and rich apartment. There were twelve poor old men newly clad in white with hoods, caps and hose, all in white and very fine, who sat in a row on high chairs. Singing began, and two cardinals dressed the Pope in a white alb, girt round with a cord. The cardinals then led the Pope to the poor people. The Pope fell on his knee before the first. There was one cardinal on the left who had a fine golden basin with sweet-smelling herbs, into which one of the poor men had to put his right foot. Thereupon the other cardinal on the right, who held a golden hand-jug full of water, poured it over the

<sup>1</sup> Holy Thursday was on 23 March in 1497. On the Veronica see Tucker-Malleson, I, p. 62; Capgrave, p. 64; Muffel, p. 26. The various services and the reading of the *bulla anatematizationis* are confirmed by Burchardus, *Diarium*, under date 23 March 1497. The ceremony is described by Adam of Usk in 1404: *Chronicle* ed. by E. M. Thompson, p. 273. The Pope was Alexander VI, Borgia, d. 1503.

<sup>2</sup> The washing of the feet is described in Tucker-Malleson, II, p. 251. Burchardus, under this date, adds: 'Papa lavit pedes duodecim pauperibus: orator Venetiarum dedit aquam manibus Pape post lotionem pedum'. Cp. Adam of Usk, p. 274.

poor man's foot, and as he poured the Pope washed the poor man's foot. Behind the Pope stood a bishop who handed him a fine clean cloth, with which he dried the poor man's foot. When that was done the Pope made the sign of the cross with his thumb on the poor man's foot and kissed it. Then they gave the Pope a piece of ancient gold, which he wrapped in the same cloth with which he had dried the foot, and gave it to the poor man. Then the poor man kissed the Pope's hands. When this was all finished, the two cardinals raised the Pope from the ground and led him to the second poor man, before whom he again fell on his knee and did to him as to the first, and so on until the Pope reached the last man, all which is indeed an act of great humility.

Item when this was all finished they led the Pope back again and sat him in his chair. Then with the help of Doctor Payl and his friends I was led before the Pope. I begged from his Holiness that he would give me leave to cross the sea to the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> The cardinals bade me kneel before the Pope, and forthwith the Pope gave me benediction, reading over me an absolution forgiving all my sins, both penalty and guilt. Then the Pope stretched out his right foot whereon was embroidered a rich cross which I had to kiss. The Pope then ordered his attendants that I was to have the letter I desired as well as other matters. In this way Dr. Johann Payl obtained for me many privileges from the Pope, since my old squire Van Moirse and the lord of Croy had sent a letter to the Pope in which I was mentioned. This was sufficient for the time being and I took leave of the Pope.

Item after midday on Holy Thursday, about Vesper time, we went into the Pope's palace to his chapel, which is very rich and costly. The Pope sat high up on a chair with the cardinals below in the centre of the chapel in their order, each according to his

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ludolph, p. 3. 'He that would go to the said Holy Land must beware lest he travel thither without leave of the Apostolic Father, for as soon as he touches the shore of the Soldan's country he falls under the sentence of the Pope, because since the Holy Land came into the hands of the Soldan, it was and remains excommunicate, as are likewise all who travel thither without the Pope's leave.' Leave was usually obtained from the Pope himself, although certain prelates were authorised to give the necessary licence. Pilgrims who failed to obtain licence could receive absolution from the Guardian of Mt. Sion. Röhricht, p. 6; Walther, p. 4.

station, and after them many bishops, all very orderly. They then sang the Tenebrae Mass with the Pope's singers in goodly descant. I was placed well forward so that I could see everything well. When the Tenebrae Mass was ended we went on to St. Peter's Minster where we saw exhibited the Veronica and a piece of Jesus' spear. There was an immense crowd and the people cried with a loud voice *Misericordia, Misericordia*.

Item on Good Friday before midday we saw the Passion Play in the Coleseum, as I have related above, and after midday we went to St. Peter's Minster where we saw the Veronica twice displayed. We also went to the Pope's chapel in his palace where they sang the Tenebrae Mass in such manner and order as I have described before. When this was ended we returned to our inn, our host being named Master Andreas Barberer. On the way, before we reached St. Angelo's Castle, there was a great uproar in the street between the Romans and the Spaniards. There must have been 3000 in the city belonging to the Pope's party who treated the citizens with much contempt and oppression. The Romans gathered themselves in the Campefflor [Campo dei Fiori], and the Spaniards captured St. Angelo's Castle and made it their rallying point. However the uproar was suppressed by the great lords and cardinals who rode between them. The Romans were ready to kill the Pope, so greatly was he hated with his friends the Spaniards, and before the Spaniards could muster themselves several were slain.<sup>1</sup>

Item on Easter Eve we went early to St. Peter's Minster and, with assistance, were let in. The Pope sat there with the cardinals, who sang and blessed the Easter candles and other wax candles which were thrown down from the Minster among the people, who struggled and fought, since each one wanted to get a piece of candle. After this we went again into St. Peter's and saw the showing of the Veronica.

Item on Holy Easter Day we went early to St. Peter's Mins-

<sup>1</sup> The Pope was hated in Rome. The insolence of his Spanish mercenaries was bitterly resented. The riots on Good Friday, for which von Harff is the principal, perhaps the only, authority, seem to have been easily suppressed but they were followed quickly by the murder of the Duke of Gandia, one of the Pope's sons. Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 413.

ter.<sup>1</sup> The Pope was in St. Peter's chapel preparing for Mass, but with the help of good friends I was let into the chapel and was placed forward so that I could see everything well. Item they put first on the Pope four kinds of albs made of white silk, each one shorter than the other, and on his head they placed a bishop's hat, and the cardinals carried him, sitting thus, from the altar quite twenty paces in a high chair ten steps high. Item the choir began to sing the Officium. Then two cardinals and seven bishops who served him at Mass carried the Pope to the altar where he read the Confiteor. When that was finished he was carried, again sitting on his chair. Item when he was to sing Gloria in Excelsis, the two cardinals took off the bishop's hat and raised him, and thus he sang Gloria in Excelsis, after which he sat down again. Then the two cardinals held a book before him, from which he sang the collects. When he reached the epistle two bishops presented themselves kneeling before him, upon whom he pronounced the benediction. They then stood up and the one sang the epistle, first in Greek, then the other sang the same epistle in Latin. Item the same was done with the Evangelium. Item the Pope then sang Dominus Vobiscum and commenced the Credo, sitting all the time. But the cardinals first removed his hat. Item they then led the Pope up to the altar where he sang Per Omnia Secula Seculorum, and then continued with the Prefacio to the end as far as the Sanctus. So he read quietly on and consecrated the holy sacrament on the altar. When the Pater Noster had been sung he left the holy sacrament lying on the altar. Then the two cardinals led him again to his chair. When he was ready to communicate the two cardinals approached the altar. One took the holy sacrament and the other the cup and carried them to the Pope. The Pope remained seated and broke the holy sacrament into three pieces, one piece he gave to the one cardinal on the right hand, who was kneeling before him, and the second piece he gave to the other cardinal kneeling on the left, both of whom had served him at Mass. The third piece he administered to himself. After this one of the cardinals held up the cup before the Pope. He had a golden tube which he

<sup>1</sup> The Easter services are described by Burchardus under date 26 March 1497.

placed in the cup and sucked the sacrament of the Blood through the tube out of the cup. When this Mass was finished the two cardinals brought the other consecrated sacraments to the Pope. He then administered first with his hands to the cardinals, then to the bishops who had served him at Mass, then to his son who was a duke, then to many notable people of Rome who were all sumptuously clad. I was then also led forward and a bishop conducted me to the Pope, where I knelt and received the holy sacrament from his hands, also the sacrament of the Blood, consecrated as he had received it himself. Item when all was completed and the Pope had finished, they carried the Pope sitting in a chair, having on his head the papal crown, through St. Peter's Minster to the Veronica, which was then exhibited to him, and afterwards he was carried to his palace.

Item on the Monday after Easter we again visited the seven principal churches and rode out to the Three Fountains, visiting on the way many churches and receiving many indulgences and pardons.

Item on the Tuesday after Easter about eight o'clock the Pope came riding out of his palace to go to St. Maria Major.<sup>1</sup> He was accompanied by about a thousand horsemen and mules, in most stately array. First came his archers, five hundred men well equipped and armed, who marched three by three all together. Item next came some four hundred horsemen, all armed. Then came the bishops, forty of them. Then came twenty cardinals. Item then came eight stately stallions, snow-white, and a white mule, all draped with red scarlet trappings reaching to the ground, and each stallion was led by a groom one after the other. Item then came his son riding very sumptuously on a stallion with grey trappings, and everything on his person was of gold. Item then came the Pope on horseback. Item behind the Pope rode the lords of Rome and ambassadors with their servants.

Item in similar array the Pope returned to his palace from St. Maria Major about eleven o'clock. When he reached the

<sup>1</sup> Burchardus under date 28 March 1497 describes this procession and adds: 'Dux Gandie equitavit ante Papam'. The procession took place usually on 25 March, but was presumably postponed this year.

Castle of St. Angelo the cannon on the Castle of St. Angelo were all loaded and some two hundred were discharged together. This is done in honour of the Pope when he rides over the bridge, and similarly when a cardinal rides across they shoot off three cannon in his honour.

Item by St. Angelo's bridge, this side of the Tiber, is the Castle of St. Angelo which was built very finely by Pope Eugenius on an old fortress, which the Popes have made very strong. But I will not write of it here. They [the people] do not understand the matter. It is indeed strong, for it lies inside Rome.<sup>1</sup> On the Castle of St. Angelo stands a golden angel with a drawn sword. Item the Pope has also caused to be built a strong wall from his palace to the Castle of St. Angelo so that it is possible to go there unseen from the palace.

Item this Pope was at this time an old man of eighty years called Alexander quartus [VI] and was born in Spain.<sup>2</sup> Item he has two sons. One he made a duke and has purchased for him a dukedom in Spain. In addition he has made him *capitanius ecclesie* but owing to his heresies he was at this time secretly and at night stabbed in the street at Rome, thrust into a sack and thrown into the Tiber,<sup>3</sup> why I will at present leave alone, together with many unspeakable things which I saw at Rome,

<sup>1</sup> I think von Harff means that the Romans knew little of the art of fortification and that anywhere else but in Rome the castle would not have been thought strong. The story of the angel is told by Tafur, p. 35. In 590, while Gregory the Great was conducting a procession to St. Peter's to avert the pestilence which followed the inundation of 589, the Destroying Angel is said to have appeared to him on the summit of the fortress in the act of sheathing his sword, to signify that the plague was stayed. Pope Boniface IV (608-615) erected on the summit the church of S. Angelo *inter nubes*, which was superseded by successive statues of the Archangel. Alexander VI completed the covered way leading from the castle to the Vatican. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Mausoleum Hadriani.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander VI was born in 1431, so that he would not then be seventy. For his character, which had little to commend it, see Gregorovius, VII, II, pp. 522 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Gandia was murdered on 14 June 1497 and his body thrown into the Tiber. When a man who witnessed the disposal of the body was asked why he did not inform the authorities, he replied that he had seen more than 100 bodies thrown into the Tiber at that spot and never heard of anyone troubling himself about them. Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 416; Pastor, V, p. 493. Suspicion fell on Caesar Borgia, the Duke's brother.



which are contrary to the Christian faith. Item the other son he has made a cardinal,<sup>1</sup> and I was told he had another son, but I did not see him. Item he has also a daughter<sup>2</sup> who lives at this time most luxuriously with him in his palace. She has a husband, the Lord of Pessere [Pesaro] which lies on the sea, but through dislike she was separated from him. Why it would take too long to describe—matters not to be known to Christian people.

Item the eighth day after Easter<sup>3</sup> we left Rome for Venice in very good company.

Item first from Rome to Rymiane a small town with a castle belonging to the Pope, 20 miles.

Item from Remiane to Terne, a city of the Pope. Hereabouts are many hill castles, 30 miles.

Item from Terne to Spolijt [Spoleto] a town hanging on a mountain with a castle, the Pope's, up a stony mountain, 12 miles.

Item from Spolijt to Folinio a papal town, 12 miles.

Item from Folinio to Noxea [Nocera], a town with a castle, 10 miles.

Item here at Noxea we heard tell of Lady Venus' mountain of which in our country many marvels are told. I therefore persuaded my companions to oblige me by going a mile out of our way to see the mountain, which happened. We came first from Noxea over a mountain to a little town called Arieet. Here there is a gate-tower in the town, where it is said St. Barbara, the holy virgin,<sup>4</sup> in her father's absence caused to be built three windows in the name of the Holy Trinity, whereat her father was

<sup>1</sup> This was the infamous Caesar Borgia. On his character see Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Lucrezia. In 1493 she had married Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, but the marriage was annulled in March 1497. In 1498 she was married to Alphonso of Aragon, Duke of Bisceglie. He was murdered by Caesar Borgia in 1500. Between the marriages Lucrezia, to the great scandal of the Church, was established as regent in the Vatican. Gregorovius, VII, II, p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> This would be 3 April 1497.

<sup>4</sup> For the story of St. Barbara see *Golden Legend*, VI, p. 198.

very wrath, and she fled to a mountain close by. The father followed and asked a shepherd if his daughter was there, but he would not tell. The father came to another shepherd who showed where she was. Immediately all his sheep were turned into grasshoppers. The father found her and dragged her down the mountain into the valley. Then he struck off her holy head, where a chapel which was built still stands, and in it is the grave in which she was buried.

Item we travelled from this town of Arieet to a little town called Norde, and close to this is Lady Venus' mountain.<sup>1</sup> At the end of this mountain is a castle in which lives a castellan of the Pope, whom with great good fortune we found in the town. I made him aware of what I had heard and told him in Latin that we had a mind to visit Lady Venus' mountain, since in our country many wonders were reported of it. The castellan answered me with laughter and made good company with us that evening. Early next morning he rode with us to the mountain in which many caves have been hewn, as underneath Valckenberch or Trieht [Maastricht], from which the town and castle had been built. I went with him into the caves, but could not creep into some of them for many were fallen in, but others stood open. Item we left the mountain with the castellan who invited us to be guests in the castle, where he entertained us at midday with much courtesy. Item after midday he rode with us up the mountain to where there was a little lake. By this

<sup>1</sup> The towns of Arieet (? Rieti) and Norde are beyond my researches. Reumont wrote an article in 1871 in which he cast doubts on the whole of v. Harff's story of the Mount of Venus ('Del Monte di Venere', in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XIII, ser. 3, p. 376 ff.), but in my view quite without justification. The story was common enough in Germany, and similar stories were current in this part of Italy in v. Harff's time. In a letter dated 15 January 1444, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (afterwards Pope Pius II) speaks of Porto Venere in the neighbourhood of Spezia, and a mountain dedicated to Venus in Sicily. In the neighbourhood of Spoleto, nor far from Nussia (Norcina), was a cave beneath a deep rock in which water flowed, which was said to be the home of witches, ghosts and demons (quoted in Burckhardt, 'Renaissance in Italy' (Eng. translation), p. 526. A necromancer, it may be added, proposed to Benvenuto Cellini that he should raise devils at Norcia. V. Harff may have confused his place names, but Noxsea may well be Norcia. Even if he invented the episode, he can scarcely have invented the jovial castellan, although, being a humourist, this worthy may well have obliged with a special Mount of Venus for the edification of travellers.

lake was a little chapel like a holy house, in which was a small altar. He told us that in former times, when the art of necromancy was abroad in the world, certain persons frequented this altar and vowed themselves to evil spirits, performing their necromancy there. Item when this happened the water of this little lake was swept up into a cloud and descended in a thunderstorm, flooding all the land for three or four miles around, so that that year there was no corn there.

Item when the people could suffer this no longer they made complaint to the castellan of this castle, who thereupon set up gallows between the holy house and the lake, and forbade that anyone should thenceforth exercise necromancy at the altar, and that any who did so should be hanged on the gallows. The castellan told us this and said that he knew nothing more about the place. We then parted from him and proceeded to Fossata by our proper route. There is a castle belonging to Noxea, 6 miles.

Item from Fossata to Schugillo [Sigello], a castle, 6 miles.

Item from Schugillo to Akostaschiao [Costacciaro], a small town, 2 miles.

Item from Akostaschiao [to] Aleskiesa [Scheggia], a small town belonging to the Duke of Urbijn [Urbino], 3 miles.

Item from Aleskiesa to Kantea [Cantiano], a town of Urbijn, 5 miles.

Item from Kantea to Kayo [Cagli], a small town with a hill-castle of Urbijn, 5 miles.

Item from Kayo to Laqualania [Acqualagna], a town, 5 miles.

Item from Laqualania to Fossabrunne [Fossombrone], a town of the Pope, 5 miles.

On the way we passed through a great hewn mountain<sup>1</sup> and came to many fine hill-castles on both sides belonging to the Duke of Urbino<sup>2</sup> who at this time was a prisoner of the Oirssiner [Orsini]. Item not far from here we passed by

<sup>1</sup> The Furlo Pass, cut through the rocks in Roman times.

<sup>2</sup> Duke Guidobaldo was taken prisoner in January 1497 while fighting for the Pope against the Orsini, but was ransomed shortly afterwards. Dennis-toun, *Dukes of Urbino*, ed. Hutton, I, p. 360.

a mountain at the foot of which we saw a fine garden of animals. The Duke of Urbino has a castle there<sup>1</sup> and in the garden are all kinds of rare fruits, such as oranges, lemons and pomegranates, olives and others. Beneath the trees, running about, were all kinds of rare animals, as buffalos, camels, deer, hinds, wild game and many other strange wild creatures. Item these gardens with the castle are quite three-and-a-half German miles in circuit, and all round about is running water.

Item from Fossabrunne to Aphano [Fano], a small papal town, by many fine castles, 15 miles.

Here at Aphano one first reaches the sea.

Item from Aphano to Pesare [Pesaro], 10 miles.  
This is a fine town, a harbour of the sea with its own lord, who at this time was a young man who married the daughter of Pope Alexander VI, as I have written above.<sup>2</sup> This young man has a very fine castle lying in the town.

Item from Pesare to Rimini, along the sea, 25 miles.  
This is a fine town and a harbour of the sea. It has also its own lord who has a fine castle lying in the town. There is also in this town, in the cathedral,<sup>3</sup> a bishop who is reported to be a very rich man, with 4000 ducats a year to spend.

Item from Rimini to Cesinagio [Cesenatico], a papal castle on the left hand, past many fine castles beside the hills, 20 miles.

Item from Cesinagio to Scheruaia, a little town. Here begins the territory of the Venetians, 5 miles.

On the left hand many fine castles on the hills.

Item from Scheruaia to Ravenna, 15 miles.  
This is a fine town of the Venetians lying, half a mile from the sea. This town has its own bishop and we were told that it was the oldest town in Lombardy. Item we went into a monastery of

<sup>1</sup> Alberti, *Descrittione*, 1588, f. 284<sup>v</sup>, speaks of a park here at the junction of two rivers. He mentions game, but says nothing about a zoo.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Sforza, see above p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> The Church of S. Francesco.

the friars minor, where we found a German, Herr von Aiche, who showed us great courtesy. He took us into the sacristy, where are countless relics which were laid one over the other without respect, as is the case generally with relics in Lombardy. 'The nearer to Rome the worse the Christian, the nearer to Jerusalem the worse the Jew. The nearer to Mecca the worse the heathen,' all of which I found to be true. This gentleman showed us also St. John's head, St. Pantalaon's head, and the head of Jonas who spent three days inside a whale. He gave me three pieces of these heads, which I saw him break off, and we saw also countless other relics. Item he took us to the church door where he showed us a chapel which had been the bed-chamber of St. Petronella, the daughter of St. Peter. Item at the end of this town, as one goes towards Venice, is a very strong castle<sup>1</sup> surrounded by twelve strong towers, which commands the whole town, so that in war the Venetians could easily sieze the castle and town and hold the town in check from the castle.

Item from Ravenna to Joza [Chioggia], 100 miles.

One rides along the sea in three-and-a-half days. On the way one has to cross eight large arms of running water, since the Po divides itself here into four arms. On each piece of water is an inn in which, as is common in those parts, each bed has two mattresses so that people lie side by side, feet to mouth.

Item Joza is a fine little town of the Venetians, a harbour of the sea. They have also their own bishop.

Item from Joza to Venice by water, 25 miles, past a little franchise on the right hand called Malamocco [Malamocco], which lies on a small lake.

Item at Venice<sup>2</sup> I was taken by the merchants to the German house, which is called in the Lombard speech Fondigo

<sup>1</sup> The fortress commenced by the Venetians in 1457, the ruins of which still remain. E. Hutton, *Ravenna*, 1913, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> There are fine views of Venice (1483-4) in Breidenbach. See Davies, plates 7-11; also the amusing drawing by Gabriel Muffel (1465) reproduced in Tafur, p. 168.

Tudisco, into the counting-house of Anthony Paffendorp<sup>1</sup> who now lives in Cologne behind St. Mary's. He obtained for me an honourable reception there and showed me much friendship and conducted me everywhere to see the city.

Item to describe first this trading house.<sup>2</sup> As I stayed there for some time I was able to see daily much traffic in spices, silks and other merchandise packed and dispatched to all the trading towns, since each merchant has his own counting-house there—from Cologne, Strassburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Lübeck and other German cities of the Empire. The merchants told me that the counting-houses paid daily to the lords of Venice a hundred ducats free money, in addition to which all merchandise was bought there and dearly paid for. Item from this German House one goes over a long wooden bridge on the right hand. Then one reaches a small square called the Rialto. Here the merchants assemble daily about nine or ten o'clock for their business, so that each one can be found without delay. Item this square is built round about and is about as large as [that at] Düren. Close by the square sit the money-changers who have charge of the merchants' cash, which they keep with the money-changers so that they may have less money to handle. When a merchant buys from another he refers him to the bankers, so that little money passes between the merchants. Item leading from the Rialto are long streets where the merchants have their shops, such as goldsmiths and jewellers selling pearls and precious stones. Item one street contains tailors, cobblers, rope-sellers, linen and cloth dealers and others, trading there without number. Item above the shops is a place like a monastery dormitory, so that each merchant in Venice has his own store full of merchandise, spices, rare cloths, silk draperies and many other goods, so that it can be said that the wealth of Venice lies in this square.

<sup>1</sup> A Cologne family long established in Venice. An Anton Paffendorp is mentioned in 1444 and again in 1508. Simonsfeld, I. pp. 360, 364; II. pp. 70, 71.

<sup>2</sup> See Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig*, Stuttgart, 1887; Röhrich, p. 9. The Fondaco stood on the Canal Grande, close to the Rialto bridge. All German merchants had to lodge there, and traffic with Germany was controlled by its members. It was founded in the thirteenth century, but the building seen by v. Harff was destroyed by fire in 1505 and rebuilt. Cp. Heyd, I, p. 108.

Item from here we went to the chief church of St. Mark through many narrow streets, in some of which were apothecaries, in some bookbinders, in others all kinds of merchants driving a thriving trade. Item St. Mark's<sup>1</sup> is a very beautiful but low church, above which are many round vaults covered with lead. Item this church, below and above and on both sides, is covered with marble stones, and in addition above and on both sides it is covered with gold. Item as one enters the church from the square there is, on the left hand, an altar enclosed with a railing against a pillar, upon which stands a wooden crucifix which was struck by a disappointed gambler and which has performed many miracles.<sup>2</sup>

Item as one goes towards the choir, on the right hand in a vault, is the Venetian treasure<sup>3</sup> which on feast days is displayed on the high altar, as for instance twelve crowns and twelve stomachers<sup>4</sup> made of gold, pearls, sapphires, balas rubies and emeralds. Item six rare golden crosses with precious stones. Item the Doge of Venice's hat which is treasured as a thing of inestimable value. Item also two great golden candlesticks, upon which are ten great balas rubies. Item a large and long unicorn's horn, most highly chased, as well as many costly jewels, all of which together is called the Venetian treasure.

Item in front of the church of St. Mark westwards is a very fine square. On this square over the church doors stand four gilded metal horses. I asked one of the gentlemen<sup>5</sup> (who are the nobles of Venice) why the horses were put up there. He informed me that the lords of Venice had caused the horses to be

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Casola, p. 137: 'at first sight [it] seems a small thing, but the man who examines and considers everything about it carefully will find that it is a grand church.' Tafur, p. 164; Dietrich von Schachten (1491) Rohricht-Meisner, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a reference to a crucifix which, on being struck by a miscreant, began to shed blood. It stood in the Piazza but was removed to the entrance to the church in 1290. See Sansovino, *Venetia, Città Nobilissima*, 1663, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Fabri, III, p. 430; Wey, p. 84; Roznital, p. 124 (with an amusing account of an attempt to steal the treasure).

<sup>4</sup> V. Harff's word is 'pruyst'. Fabri, Wey and Roznital have 'pectoralia', Moryson (I, p. 171) has 'stomachers', which I have borrowed.

<sup>5</sup> V. Harff writes 'sentiloman'.

set up there as an everlasting memorial. In the year as one counts from the birth of Christ 1153 there was a Roman emperor born in Swabia called Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, red-beard, who was intent on finding a way to conquer the Holy Land. He thought that he would enter the country in the guise of a messenger to see the land and ascertain how to conquer it. Item he went first to Rome to make his confession to the Pope and seek his counsel. He told the Pope in his confession what he intended. The Pope thought in his mind: if the Emperor should conquer the Holy Land, the people would cease to seek licence to go there. They would look more to the Patriarch of Constantinople than to the Pope, he being nearer to Jerusalem. Moreover the Emperor would be master of the seas, so that the Pope would cease to receive tribute from the merchants or from the Lombard bankers.

Item the Pope bethought himself how he could bring these plans to nought. He therefore caused a picture to be made of the Emperor Frederick with his red beard, which he sent forthwith to the Sultan with a message that if a pilgrim or a messenger arrived of this aspect it would be the Roman Emperor, whose object was to spy out the land.<sup>1</sup> This happened, and when the Emperor arrived the Sultan seized him and showing him the picture said: 'behold how false are the Christians; see how your brother of the same faith has betrayed you.' So the Emperor was forced to remain a prisoner for a year and a day and ransomed himself with 200,000 ducats. But at his parting the Sultan caused half the money to be given back to him, so that with it he might punish his Christian brother who had betrayed him. Item this happened. He marched at once on Rome and took it. The Pope fled secretly by night in a monk's habit to a monastery in Venice, where he became the cook-brother. Later, after more than a year, a pilgrim from Rome came unnoticed to

<sup>1</sup> For the story of the various attempts by the Pope to dispose of Frederick, including the episode of the picture, see 'Kaiser Friedrich in Kiffhäuser', Vortrag gehalten am Stiftungsfeste der Berlin. Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache (17 Jan. 1850) by H. F. Massmann, quoting Caspar Hedion, *Chronica*, Strassburg, 1572. For other details see Wey, p. 87; Tafur, p. 159; Fabri, III, p. 422. The story that the Pope put his foot on the Emperor's neck is not found in any contemporary chronicle.



Venice to that monastery and recognised the cook as the Pope. He at once gave notice to the Venetians that they had the Pope in the city, and that he was the cook in the monastery. Thereupon the Venetians prepared a great procession and fetched the Pope out of the monastery with great reverence. Item when the Emperor heard that the Pope was at Venice he wrote to the Venetians demanding that they should forthwith deliver up the Pope to him, but they refused. Thereupon the Emperor was wrath and became their enemy, and swore by his red beard that he would destroy Venice, and turn St. Mark's into a stable for horses. He then gathered together a great army, taking with him his son Otto, and besieged Venice. But leaving his son there, he withdrew to the German lands to bring more men. But in the meantime the Venetians marched out secretly and smote the army and captured the Emperor's son Otto. Item when the Emperor heard this he was full of mistrust. But he was forced to make terms with them and to give them what they demanded. The terms were that the Emperor should come to Venice and kneel down in St. Mark's church before the Pope, and suffer the Pope to put his foot on his neck. They would then deliver his son to him again. Item this happened. The Pope put his foot on the Emperor's shoulder, the Emperor saying *non tibi sed Petro*, not to your honour, but St. Peter's. So the pact was carried out but on account of the great oath which the Emperor had sworn by his red beard, which could never be undone, that he would make St. Mark's church into a stable for horses, therefore the Venetians, out of respect for him and by reason of his oath, caused to be set up four gilded metal horses in front of St. Mark's church as an eternal witness of these things, a picture whereof, painted with great art, hangs in the Palace in the Council chamber.

Item close by St. Mark's church, southwards, stands the Doge's Palace<sup>1</sup> which is very fine and is daily being made more

<sup>1</sup> The ornate renaissance façade on the east side is by Antonio Riccio and was erected between 1483 and 1500. It is probable that it was this work which was proceeding when v. Harff was in Venice. Casola (1494), p. 126, reports that the façade had been renovated with great display of gold. Dietrich von Schachten (1491) confirms that the pilgrims' arms were hung in the Doge's palace, p. 174.

beautiful by the Doge Augustin Barbarigo, who is now having the palace covered with marble and gilt. He was also building a whole marble staircase with beautiful carving, which at this time was not half complete, the half having cost 10,000 ducats. Item, as one first enters the palace, stand two four-cornered marble columns carved with flowers, on the left close by St. Mark's church. These two columns, so placed that an iron bar can be laid on them, are called the Doge's gallows.<sup>1</sup> If he does evil, he is forthwith hanged between the two columns, and I was told as a truth that within a hundred years one person has been hanged there.<sup>2</sup> Item as one first enters on the right hand one climbs a staircase to a round hall in which justice is administered. Also in this hall hangs an innumerable collection of arms of pilgrims who have been to the Holy Land. Item from this hall one ascends by a stone staircase to a very large hall which is the council chamber of the lords of Venice. In this council are seven hundred persons who are nobles called gentlemen, and I counted them at one time in this hall. Item in this council chamber there is, finely pictured, the story of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa which I have already related.<sup>3</sup> In this council chamber there are pictures also of all who have been Doges of Venice. Item I asked a gentleman and told him that it seemed to me that there were a great number of councillors on the day when I counted them. He answered and said that if there were as many councillors as the land and people [could send] there would be 7000 in the council. But the seven hundred who went daily to council were gentlemen—that is nobles, all fine men, handsomely dressed in long gowns to the feet, the heads all shaved and on the head a small bonnet; all usually wear grey beards. They wear generally girdles round the gown. The sleeves of this gown are narrow at the hand, but behind they hang down about an ell wide, like a sack, just as we

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Tafur, p. 165; Okey, p. 318: 'The two red columns in the W. gallery were transferred from the earlier palace and are probably those from which state criminals were hanged.' See Dietrich von Schachten, Röhricht-Meisner, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> This must be a reference to the Doge Marino Faliero, who was executed for treason in 1355.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 53.

make clothes for jesters in our country. The gentlemen have to wear these cloaks and to go about like this.<sup>1</sup>



Item in the courtyard of this palace on St. Mark's Square are two marble columns. Between them are hanged any gentleman who has done evil.

Item opposite St. Mark's church westwards across the square is the clock tower of St. Mark, which is four-square and very high. Inside it a staircase goes to the top which one can ascend on horseback. It was told me as a fact that the Emperor Frederick of Austria of holy memory some years ago rode to the very top of this tower.<sup>2</sup> Item from this tower one can overlook the whole of Venice. Item at the end of St. Mark's square, eastwards, are two large and high columns made of a single stone

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Casola, p. 143; Molmenti, *Venice* (Middle Ages), Eng. translation, II, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, III, p. 421. "Turris ista S. Marci magna est, quadrangularis et alta, ejus ascensus est ita factus, quod equus cum insidente potest ascendere usque ad campanas; unde anno praeterito, quum Fridericus III fuit Venetiis, duxerunt illum Veneti in mulo sedentem usque ad campanas." The emperor was there from 7 to 19 February 1469. See 'Federigo III a Venezia' by P. Ghinzoni, in *Archivio Veneto*, vol. 37, p. 133 ff, but there is no mention of the ascent of the Campanile.

each the height of two spears and twelve feet thick.<sup>1</sup> On the one stands St. Mark sculptured, on the other St. Theodorus, a holy man. Item beneath these columns and between them is the fish-market. Item if anyone is to be executed a gallows is placed between these two columns and here all justice is carried out.

Item Venice is a very beautiful city with many inhabitants. It lies in the middle of the salt sea, without walls, and with many tidal canals flowing from the sea, so that in almost every street or house there is water flowing behind or in front, so that it is necessary to have little boats, called barks, in order to go from one house, from one street, or from one church to another, and I was told as a fact that the barks at Venice number more than 50,000.<sup>2</sup>

Item in this city or lordship they elect from the seven hundred gentlemen twelve chief lords, and from the twelve they choose a Doge who has in the council only two votes. He must live in the palace and cannot leave the city or the palace without the permission of the eleven lords. Item this Doge with the government has very many towns countries and kingdoms under him, since their dominion extends as far as Milan and to Jaffa, a port of the Holy Land, which I reckon is more than five hundred German miles, to name also many beautiful towns in Lombardy, Padua, Vicentia, Verona, Brescia, Tervicium [Treviso], Ravenna, Mestre with other countless towns and castles. Item they have also fine towns in Poyen [Apulia] in Calabria. Also many towns in Wendish lands. Item many towns in Slavonia. Item many towns and castles in Albania. Item many towns and castles in Greece. Item innumerable islands on which are beautiful towns and castles. Item the kingdom of Candia. Item the kingdom of Cyprus, with many other remarkable towns in Turkish lands. Item also many towns and castles in the Kingdom of Dalmatia.

<sup>1</sup> They were part of the spoils brought from the East in 827. At first no one could erect them and they lay on the ground until a Lombard engineer, Nicolo, called from his love of gaming Barattiero, raised and secured them. Barattiero claimed as his reward the grant of a monopoly to keep the space between the columns for gaming. In order to diminish the value of the concession the Council ordered that the space between the columns should be used for executions, which had formerly taken place at San Giovanni in Bragora. Hodgson, *Early History of Venice*, p. 330; Tafur, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Tafur, p. 163. Sansovino (sixteenth cent.) gives the number as 8,000. *Delle Cose Notabili*, p. 215.

All which they govern with wisdom, sending every year new governors to these towns, castles, islands and countries from among the gentlemen of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

Item the Doge at this time was Doge Augustin Barbarigo, an old man of more than seventy years.<sup>2</sup> I saw him going in state to St. Mark's church in this manner. Item first they carried before



him eight golden banners, of which four were white and four brown. Item then came a picture which was borne on a golden standard. Item next was carried a golden chair with a cushion which was made of golden stuff. Item next they carried his hat with which he is made a Doge, which is valued at 100,000 ducats. Item then came the Doge, most gorgeously dressed. He had a long grey beard and had on his head a curious red silk hat shaped like a horn behind, reaching upwards for a span's length, as he is pictured here. This hat must be worn by every Doge. Item before the Doge was carried also a white lighted candle in a silver candlestick.

<sup>1</sup> See Fabri, III, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> Agostino Barbarigo, 1486-1501. For illustrations of ducal caps, see Molmenti, *Venice* (Middle Ages), Eng. translation, p. 6.

Item there preceded him also fourteen minstrels, eight with silver bassoons, from which hung golden cloths with the arms of St. Mark, and six pipers with trumpets, also with rich hangings. Item behind the Doge was carried a sword with a golden sheath. Item there followed him the eleven chief lords with the other gentlemen richly attired, fine stately persons.

Item on Ascension Day<sup>1</sup> the Doge celebrates a festival each year before the haven on the high sea. He then throws a golden finger-ring into the wild sea, as a sign that he takes the sea to wife, as one who intends to be lord over the whole sea. Item the ship in which he celebrates is a small stately galley, very splendidly fitted out. In front of this ship is a gilt maiden: in one hand she holds a naked sword and in the other golden scales, a sign that as the virgin is still a maid, so the government is still virgin and was never taken by force. The sword in the right hand signifies that she will do justice: for the same reason the maiden holds the scales in the left hand.

Item this Lordship of Venice has inside the city a great house of weapons called the arsenal,<sup>2</sup> which is about as big as Düren. I was taken in with the help of two gentlemen and by means of certain presents. Item first at the entrance, travelling with the sun, we ascended some stairs to a great hall thirty feet wide and quite a hundred long which is full of arms hanging on both sides in three rows, one above the other, very orderly disposed, with everything that belongs to a soldier, such as a coat-of-mail, a sword, a dagger, a spear, a helmet and a shield. In addition, as part of the arrangement of this hall, there are stored there more than 3,000 or 4,000 swords, daggers and innumerable numbers of long pikes, with many more accoutrements for war, and above in the roof are crossbows hanging side by side touching each other, six rows deep. Item we were taken higher, up still another staircase, to a fine hall which was also arranged like the first and was no smaller. Item from these halls we went out and came to a

<sup>1</sup> Ascension Day in 1497 was 4 May. Von Harff does not say he witnessed this festival. Cp. Tafur, p. 158; and for the origin of the festival, Okey, p. 62; G. R. Michiel, *Origine delle Feste Veneziane*, 1817, I, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> V. Harff's is the most detailed account of the Arsenal of this period known to me. Cp. Tafur, p. 169; Casola, p. 139; Mundy (seventeenth cent.), I, p. 93.

large high building which has thirty arches under one roof, each arched space being one hundred and fifty paces long and ten broad, beneath which they build the great ships. Also close by stands another building with arches, in which they also build ships. Between the two runs deep water, and when the ships are ready they are rolled on round wooden wheels into the water. Item we went further into another building in which were very fine cannon, namely five main pieces of copper. They measured by one of my feet twenty-four feet long, and each cannon had three pieces which could be screwed into each other. As we were about to look into one of them, out crept a boy with a vegetable basket, who had hidden himself in it. I was told that each main piece had cost 7,000 ducats and that each piece discharges a stone of 1,000 pounds. Item close by in two rows were more than four hundred copper half-slings, which had just been mounted on two strong wheels. Item close by were also many carthouns, slings, half-slings, and chamber-guns, which are all used on the ships. Item close by were also three copper mortars. Item I was told as a fact by a gentleman who had made an inventory that there were thirty-eight main pieces, one hundred and sixty large copper slings, forty-four copper carthouns and more than five hundred half copper slings. Further that in every town under their dominion was more artillery than we saw there, since in his opinion Venice did not need so much, as she had only to arm the ships. And I can say in truth that having seen many armaments in such towns as Brescia, Verona, Padua, Treviso, Mestre, Vienna, Modon, Corfu, Roumania, Candia, Cyprus, and in many other towns, I had not seen even a part.

Item we went further through a door into a great square, called the New Arsenal,<sup>1</sup> which was not long ago a lake. Now they have covered it in and surrounded it with a wall with towers. In this place they test the great ordnance, shooting against a great wall, which they do all the year round. Item we proceeded, still following the sun, though many work-shops and came to a

<sup>1</sup> The new Arsenal was begun in June 1472 with a capacity of 100 galleys. Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, Archivio Storico Italiano, VII, (1843), p. 662. Tafur (p. 170) describes how the galleys were loaded from the windows as they were towed past, so that between the hours of ten and three, ten galleys emerged fully armed.

building where they make powder. Here are twelve powder mills turned by horses. Item behind this building is a fine garden with long stone benches where they dry the powder in summer. But in this building there is also a large stove on which they dry the powder in winter. Item we came next to another large building full of saltpetre. A gentleman told me as a fact that the saltpetre was valued at 80,000 ducats. He said further that in the last three years, when the government of Venice besieged Ferrara, they are said to have discharged saltpetre to the value of 24,000 ducats. Item we continued to another building where a hundred women are employed daily heckling and spinning, making ropes and in other work relating to ropes which are used in the ships. Item we proceeded to another great building which was full of oars used for rowing the ships. There were stored there at that time more than 100,000, each of which cost half a ducat. Item we came next to a large building in which were twelve forges, each with a master-smith and three assistants, and all the materials for smiths who forge cannon every day, as well as all kind of gear for the ships. Item close by this building we went to another which was full of casts for moulding, where cannon, shields and other gear for the ships are made daily.

Item we came next to the government wine cellar where they gave us excellent wine to drink. We were met by two great powerful men who lift the wine [casks] from the cellar with a great wooden yoke made from a tree about their necks. I asked what they did with the wine. They replied that there were ten assistants who did nothing else but carry wine at all hours for the work-people to drink, and that they had to keep there throughout the year wine worth 10,000 ducats. Further that although there was so much wine there they paid no duty on it. Item we went further, past a number of officials, and came to a fine large building which was full of ships' ropes. We were conducted through this hall and came first to a hall which was also full of ropes for ships. Through this hall we went to another where about fifty women were making sails for ships, those lying there complete numbering more than 10,000. We continued still higher to three great halls which were armed and ordered with weapons and material as I have related before at the beginning,



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but in truth much more splendid. Above on the roof there was nothing but steel bows. There stood also in this hall the Doge's chair and the golden maiden which is placed in front of his ship, about which I have also written above. Item I enquired of the armourers whether, if needed, these five halls could equip 10,000 men. At which he made merry and said: 'There is not more here than is taken daily to the ships, for the Council have in all their towns more than you see here. I will now take you to my house, where I have weapons and gear for a hundred men, better than you see here,' which also happened. He told us that there was no burgher nor gentleman who had not six times as much in his house.

Item from this house we went through a house which was twice as long with water running through, where nothing was built but ships, as I wrote before in describing this house. Item we then returned to the gate where we had entered, where they again offered us wine. Here we made presents to each according to his station. Beneath this gate we reflected that we had spent four full hours in this place, going about without ever standing still. Also we were informed by the head keeper of the houses that a hundred men and one hundred and fifty women worked daily in that building, who were paid a good weekly wage, so that every week well over a thousand ducats were paid out. With these words we took leave of the head keeper with thanks, and returned to our inn.

Item on Thursday<sup>1</sup> before the evening of the great fast the

<sup>1</sup> Shrove Tuesday in 1497 was on 7 February, so that the Thursday before would be 2 February. The rejoicings were held to celebrate the defeat in 1184 of the Patriarch of Aquileia. The Patriarch was brought a prisoner to Venice and purchased his liberty by undertaking to render an annual tribute of a bull, twelve pigs, twelve loaves of bread and a quantity of wine. Once a year the Doge, with a train of nobles, repaired to the ducal palace where he struck down with a wand certain wooden castles symbolising the fortress of Friuli. The bull and pigs were killed and the flesh distributed among the prisoners in gaol. Molmenti, *Venice, Middle Ages*, Eng. translation, I, p. 215; Olcy, p. 56; G. R. Michiel, *Origine delle Feste Veneziane*, Venice, 1807, II, p. 36. It is stated in Molmenti that the ceremony took place on Maundy Thursday which in 1497 was on 23 March when von Harlf was in Rome, but Dietrich von Schachten, who witnessed the festivities in 1491, confirms that they were celebrated at Carnival time. Röhricht-Meisner, p. 241. Michiel states that the festival took place on *Feudi Gras*.

Doge and the Council had great rejoicings on St. Mark's Square. After midday they escorted the Doge to the gallery of his palace, which was splendidly decorated with rich hangings, beneath which he sat to see the merry-makings. First they brought before him an ox and twelve fat pigs. They cut off the head of the ox standing, then the twelve pigs each of which was hanging by its feet to a bar, which was supported on the necks of two men. The execution was done by the heads of the guilds, and the one who did best was lifted off the ground by the people and carried thus from the market-place. When that was done they conducted the Doge into a great hall. Then they put a rod into the Doge's hand and also into the hands of the other eleven chief lords. There were then placed two men who had in their hands a board with a hole. First the Doge shot the rod through the hole, and afterwards each lord did the same with his rod. Item I asked a gentleman why they held this festival every year with the ox and the twelve pigs and the rods. He told me that close to Venice there was a province called Frijoill [Friuli] which had a Patriarch as its lord, with many towns and castles under him, so that he could muster in the field some 50,000 men. He was very proud and was an enemy of the Venetians, and he sent them a challenge by a messenger, forbidding him to remove his hat in the presence of the Council of Venice. This happened. The Venetians speedily observed the arrogance of the messenger, and asked him what evil animal was crouching under his hat. The messenger wanted to see and removed his hat. The Venetians said 'Thou shouldst have removed thine hat before us', and they kept the messenger by them in secret confinement. In the meantime they mobilised as many as 60,000 men with whom they marched on the land of Friuli, and then sent back the messenger to his master to tell him how they were now ready to attack his towns, land, and people, after which they would strike off his head. This happened and they were successful. They took Friuli by force, with its towns, land and castles, and took captive the Patriarch, the lord of that province, carrying him back a prisoner to Venice with intent to do justice upon him as they had sworn. But many princes pleaded for him, also our spiritual father, the Pope, as the prisoner was also an ecclesiastic. And the judgement was varied

that, by reason of that oath, and for ever after at this time in Venice, an ox and twelve pigs should be beheaded as a symbol of what should have been the fate of the Patriarch and twelve of his councillors. Further the country should bring the ox and twelve pigs each year to Venice so that justice might be executed upon them. Item there were, however, certain towns and castles which would not submit, and the Venetians marched forthwith against them with a great army and shot them all into submission. As a symbol of this they still shoot with the rods through a hole in a wooden board. The Venetians still possess the land and keep the Patriarch in great state and at their cost in Venice *a Castello* where he is forced to be their Pope, as they do not take much account of the Pope at Rome.

Item in Venice there are seventy-two mother-churches, not counting monasteries and other chapels, the names of which I will now set down. Item here, as throughout Italy, the priests, lay and ecclesiastic, sing mass with loud voices. Also they communicate and celebrate Mass with a somewhat broader host. Item not far from St. Mark's Square, going up the canal on the left side, the Greeks have their own church<sup>1</sup> in which they hold their services, of which I will write later. Item from this church one goes further on the left hand to a fine church called *a Castello*<sup>2</sup>, where the Patriarch dwells. Here every Sunday in Lent is Roman indulgence from penalty and guilt.

Item not far from this church, as one returns, is a fine convent of virgins called *ad Mariam Castitatis*.<sup>3</sup> To this place, on the first Sunday in Lent, come all the women who have been consecrated that year as a sign that they have offered their virginity to our blessed Lady. At that time I saw there some very young women beautifully attired with splendid dresses and jewels. I was in

<sup>1</sup> S. Giorgio de' Greci.

<sup>2</sup> The church of San Pietro. It was the patriarchal church and cathedral at this time. See Casola, p. 137. The Patriarch was Nicolo Donato. Casola, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Le Vergini. This convent was opposite the church of S. Pietro in Castello. On 15 November 1487 it was burnt down, but was rebuilt by public and private offerings and by means of indulgences obtained from Rome. Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, Arch. Stor. Italiano, VII (1843), p. 683. The church and convent were destroyed in the nineteenth century and the site was included in the Arsenal. G. R. Michiel, *Origine delle Feste*, II, p. 69.

fact informed by a merchant, who pointed out to me a young and wealthy citizen's wife with her neck and hands covered with countless costly and beautiful jewels, that in his opinion the jewels were worth more than 600,000 ducats. This was also confirmed by others, or I should not have believed it. Item these women paint their faces with colours so that at night they look ugly when the heat makes the colours run. The maidens go covered with a clear black transparent cloth over their faces. Further the women walk on great high soles covered with cloth, three of my fists high, which cause them to walk with such difficulty that one pities them. Both maidens and women go about the streets like this.<sup>1</sup>



Item southwards from this convent is a fine monastery of preaching friars, in which many of the Doges are buried in great

<sup>1</sup> Casola (p. 145) mentions the magnificent jewels worn by the Venetian women (cp. Molmenti, *Venice*, Eng. translation, Middle Ages, II, p. 13) and the paint on their faces. Cp. Dietrich von Schachten, Röhricht-Meisner, p. 171. The pattens are mentioned by most travellers. They were due at first to the unpaved and muddy streets, but developed into extravagant objects of luxury, reaching to such heights that the government had to control them, since they led to dangerous falls. Molmenti, l.c.

splendour,<sup>1</sup> high up against the walls, their tombs covered with marble-stones and gilded. One is said to have cost 10,000 or 12,000 ducats. Item before this church of St. James the council have caused to be set up a high, four-cornered, marble column, splendidly sculptured, upon which is a metal horse gilded over with a man in armour, in remembrance of a head-councillor called Bartolomeo C'hopung,<sup>2</sup> who some years ago carried himself in knightly fashion in the war which the Council had with the Turks. This cost 10,000 ducats.

Item some distance away is a monastery called after St. Barbara,<sup>3</sup> where she lies in person on the left hand in a chapel. But I do not think that this St. Barbara is the daughter of the king who himself struck off her head because of the three windows, which she had caused to be put in a tower in honour of the Holy Trinity. Item in this monastery the monks are all habited in blue, and when they leave the monastery they carry a copper cross in their hands. Item by this monastery one goes by a canal or river just outside the city to a small town called Murano,<sup>4</sup> which lies in the middle of the sea. Item in this town live only glass blowers who blow glass out of molten ashes, such as rummers, and other very costly glass overlaid with gilt. It is said that one man's stock was valued at 10,000 ducats.

Item from this little town we went southwards round the city of Venice to a monastery called St. Lucia's,<sup>5</sup> where she lies in person by the entrance on the right hand in an aisle: she is shown every Sunday after Vespers. Item close by, near the German House, is a church called St. Mango,<sup>6</sup> who lies there in person. Item close by is a monastery of monks called ad Maria de Servo,<sup>7</sup> in which on Easter Even they had evening Mass, so that the priest preserves the holy sacrament through the day, which

<sup>1</sup> SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Cp. Casola, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> The famous equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni.

<sup>3</sup> S. Maria de' Crosechieri Sansovino, *Delle Gose*, p. 210. For the other St. Barbara see above p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> On Murano Cp. Casola, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Sansovino, *Delle Gose*, p. 211. The church of S. Lucia was rebuilt in the seventeenth century.

<sup>6</sup> S. Magno. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 430, 'ad S. Jeremiam est corpus S. Magni, primi Venetorum episcopi'. Sansovino, p. 211.

<sup>7</sup> S. Maria dei Servi. Cp. Casola, p. 135 and note.

seemed to me very strange. Item further towards the south is a monastery of minor brothers<sup>1</sup> with a very fine and large church. In the choir lie two Doges very splendidly interred high up in the walls in marble-stone tombs, one of which cost as much as 2,000 ducats. Item in this monastery is a Sacristy in which is some very fine wood carving which one can see with one's eyes. Item behind this monastery is a church called St. Rochus,<sup>2</sup> where he lies in person in a choir above the altar in a grave of marble and stone. Item behind the German House is a fine small church called S. Maria de Miraculo.<sup>3</sup> At this time it was being rebuilt inside and out and covered with marble and stones. There was every evening a great crowd there on account of pardons and indulgences. Item close by the Greek church is a church called St. John ad Bragelum.<sup>4</sup> There, in a choir, lies in person St. John Elemosenar, a bishop, above the altar. Item close by at St. Zacharius<sup>5</sup> lies the saint in person, who was St. John's father. Beside him lie two holy bodies.

Item southwards, opposite the entrance to St. Mark's church, is a fine monastery in the sea called after St. George<sup>6</sup> where we were shown many relics: item, to name them, the head of St. George and his left arm with the flesh: item the heads of St. Cosmas and St. Damian enclosed in a gilt bowl. Item the left arm of S. Lucia, the virgin. Item the head of St. James the Less which I saw also later at Compostella in Galicia. These muddles of the priests I leave to God's judgement. Item also many other very honourable relics.

Item we went on the sea towards the castle to a monastery

<sup>1</sup> S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. Casola, p. 135. The tombs were those of Francesco Foscari, Doge 1423-1457, and Nicolo Tron, Doge 1471-1473.

<sup>2</sup> S. Rocco.

<sup>3</sup> Madonna dei Miracoli. Casola, p. 139. It was begun in 1480 (cp. Malipiero *Annali Veneti*, Archivio Storico Italiano, VII (1843), p. 672), but work was evidently still going on in 1497. This provides further evidence that v. Harff writes as an eye-witness.

<sup>4</sup> S. Giovanni in Bragora. Cp. Sansovino, *Delle Cose*, p. 208. 'S. Giovan Battista chiamato S. Giovanni in Bragola'.

<sup>5</sup> S. Zaccaria. Cp. Sansovino, *Delle Cose*, p. 208. He mentions six other bodies.

<sup>6</sup> S. Giorgio Maggiore. Cp. Casola, p. 135. Sansovino, *Delle Cose*, p. 212, does not mention the relics of St. George. The existing church dates from 1556.



called after St. Helen.<sup>1</sup> At the entrance, on the right hand in a chapel, in the altar lies St. Helen in person. Item beside her are two crucifixes in one of which is a piece of the holy Cross; item in the other is a thumb of St. Constantine, her son, and a large bone of the breast of St. Mary Magdalen. Item in front of the chapel stands a captain of Venice carved in stone, who brought this virgin with great cunning from Constantinople across the sea to this city, As she refused to proceed further he caused this chapel to be built in her honour.

Item behind this monastery is another fine Carthusian monastery, also in the sea, called St. Andrew de Leye.<sup>2</sup> Two burghers built this monastery about this time, very splendidly, entirely with marble-stones. Item much finer and further out in the sea is a monastery to St. Nicholas Eylleo.<sup>3</sup> Inside is a pitcher in which our Lord Jesus turned water into wine, and many other famous relics.

Item on the 13th evening, in the night, all the mariners or ships-people who intended that year to go overseas, went to St. Mark's church, and we pilgrims who intended to travel with them went also.<sup>4</sup> Item they began to sing praises to our Lady with many other antiphons and psalms, with blessing and consecrating a wooden cross, in the same way as with the Easter candles on Easter Even. We, who were about to cross the sea, then

<sup>1</sup> S. Elena. Cp. Casola, p. 134; Sansovino, *Delle Cose*, p. 212. 'The church has been turned to secular purposes in modern times. Fabri, III, p. 429, 'pectorale os S. Mariae Magdalene'. The relics of St. Helena were brought to Venice in 1112. Alessandro Borromeo, a citizen of Florence, founded the church in 1420.

<sup>2</sup> S. Andrea della Certosa, or di Lio.

<sup>3</sup> S. Nicolo del Lido. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 429: 'ad S. Nicolaum Alliu est una de sex hydris de Cana Galilaeae.'

<sup>4</sup> V. Harff does not give the month, but the ceremony suggests the Corpus Christi festival which would take place in 1497 on 25 May. For a detailed description see Casola, p. 146. It should be noted that v. Harff, by favour of the Doge (p. 71), sailed in a merchant galley for Alexandria, not in the ordinary pilgrim galley which sailed for Jaffa after the Corpus Christi festival. In spite of official prohibition pilgrims did sail in merchants' galleys (Casola, pp. 45, 46), and some kind of blessing would be bestowed on them. On whatever date v. Harff left Venice he cannot have been there on 25 May. See Introd, p. xxiii. Groote in his edition (p. XII) suggests that the festival took place at Epiphany (6 Jany.), but that does not appear to be possible.

received by names our blessing from the priest and each one departed to his inn. Item after this day, when they had seen the blessing of the cross, each shipman prepared himself for the voyage. Item at this time the council of Venice sends each year fourteen galleys to all countries to carry goods and to return with others. Item, to name them, two to Alexandria, item two to Beiruth, two to Tripoli, item two to Barbary, item two to Constantinople, item two to Jaffa, in which the pilgrims are accustomed to travel every year to Jerusalem, item two to England, item two to Flanders.

Item when I heard that two ships were going to Alexandria, my earnest wish being to go to Mt. Sinai, I at once prepared myself with the help of the German merchants with needful things to take with me to Alexandria. They at once helped me to find a dragoman, that is a guide knowing many languages. He was called Master Vyncent, a Spaniard; he was a renegade Christian, but I did not know this. He knew many languages such as Latin, Lombard, Spanish, Wendish, Greek, Turkish and excellent Arabic. At this I was very glad. I had to give him four ducats a month, as well as food and drink, and a hundred ducats as a gift. In return he was to take me from Venice to Cairo, further to St. Catherine's and through all the heathen lands to Jerusalem. Item, as soon as I had made my contract with him, he went to buy everything which would be necessary for us in the ship,<sup>1</sup> such as to name them: item first a stately merchant's gown, long and reaching to the feet. Item a heathenish dress with a blue veil to wind round the head, such as Christians wear in heathen parts. Item a gaban, which is a white cloak made of thick felt to lie in in the ship against cold winds and rain. Item two pairs of linen drawers which could be tied above with cords to the body, to be worn during great heat on ship or on land. Item eight shirts and two towels for drying face and hands, which are very needful in the ship. He bought me also a mattress, that is a bed stuffed with wool for sleeping on in the

<sup>1</sup> Many pilgrims' records contain detailed instructions as to what to buy for the voyage. See B. Rindfleisch (1496) Röhricht-Meisner, p. 321; Breydenbach, *Reiseinstruction*, *ibid.* p. 120; Grünemberg (1486), *ibid.* p. 147; Rieter, p. 138. In English, Wey, p. 4 ff and *Information for Pilgrims* (c. 1498).

ship;<sup>1</sup> thereto a pillow and two sleeping-sheets. Item a tin box<sup>2</sup> in which everything could be locked, as the sailors on the ship are great thieves. Item he bought also two barrels of Italian wine, which are small casks, to take thirty or forty quarts, since the wine one has to drink on the voyage is very strong. Item two empty kegs in which to put fresh water at every port, of which there is a great need in the ships. Item a hand basin in which to spit and be sick<sup>3</sup> if one becomes ill on board ship, also in which to wash one's feet. Item he bought me also two pounds of wax lights and a tinder for them. Item he bought for me for a ducat salted hams. Item for half a ducat salted tongues. Item for half a ducat salted sausage. Item for a ducat good white biscuit, that is bread baked twice, which keeps well on board ship. Item he bought us also a hen-coop,<sup>4</sup> so that when we came to a harbour and bought hens we could put them there. Item he bought me several kinds of plague pills and other confections, which are very necessary on board ship, since one is apt to get constipated<sup>5</sup> at sea, or on the other hand to go too often to stool, which frequently happened to me in all strange countries and fresh climes. For this reason each pilgrim must beware and take measures against it, or he will shorten his life.

Item, although the patron of the ship provides good food and drink on board for four ducats a month,<sup>6</sup> nevertheless, my dragoman provided this food and drink so that we could strengthen ourselves after meals, as it often happens that the patron does not have the food cooked after our manner.

<sup>1</sup> Wey (p. 5) advises that the bed should be bought 'by seynt Markys Cherche'—a feather bed, a mattress, two pillows, two pair sheets, and a quilt costing three ducats, to be sold to the same man on the pilgrim's return for a ducat and a half 'thow hyt be broke and worne'. The author of the *Information for Pilgrims* adds a caution 'and marke his hous and his name that ye bought it of agensst ye come to Venyse'. p. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Wey (p. 5) recommends a chest with lock and key 'and a lytyl dore', and two barrels for wine and water.

<sup>3</sup> Wey (p. 6) advises a barrel 'close for a sege for youre chumbur in the galey, hyt is ful nessessary yf ye be syke that ye com not in the eyre'.

<sup>4</sup> Wey (p. 6) also recommends a cage for hens.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Wey, p. 5, and for more intimate details, Breydenbach, Röhricht-Meisner, p. 144.

<sup>6</sup> Forms of contract with galley-masters are given by many travellers. See Röhricht, p. 10.

Item at Venice I had to change all my money for new Venetian ducats called *de zecca*, since the money in Greece, Turkey and in heathen lands is differently coined from Christian money. Item since it was in my mind to travel in the lands of unbelievers I had to see that my money was not stolen or taken, which often happened to me. I was taken therefore with the help of the German merchants to a gentleman of Venice who traded in all countries overseas, who gave bills of exchange<sup>1</sup> in the cities of Alexandria, Damietta, Damascus, Beiruth, Antioch, Constantinople and other towns, so that I could supply my needs, for which the other merchants of the counting-house of Anthony Paffendorpp of Cologne were my sureties, that they would make good what I spent in other countries. Item when I came to a heathen town and presented these bills to the person to whom they were made out, although I could not speak with him, I nodded my head at him and kissed my finger in order to show my respect, and gave him the bills. Whereupon he would stare at me and disappear into the back of his house, returning at once and paying me my money, indicating with his finger that I should write down how much I had received. I was told this by the gentleman in Venice, and in truth they keep to it although they are heathens.<sup>2</sup>

Item when we learnt that the ships were about to leave, we went, with the assistance of the merchants, before the Doge of Venice, who gave us an order to the patron of the largest armed ship which was to accompany the other ship, in which he ordered him to give us good company. Item we then left at once in a bark to the great ship and presented our letter to the patron, who received us honourably, gave us our own cabin, and arranged for us to eat at his table with the other merchants, where we were well served for four ducats a month.

Item early on St. Agatha's day<sup>3</sup> we had a good wind, and the

<sup>1</sup> Tafur provided himself with bills of exchange at Venice, stating (p. 171) that the Venetians would pay a man's bills of exchange for him rather than suffer him to default.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult when reading such amusing details as these to understand how anyone can doubt that v. Harff was a genuine traveller.

<sup>3</sup> St. Agatha's day was on 5 February. There must be some confusion here. See *Intro.* p. xxxiii.

patron caused the eight anchors by which the ship was secured to be lifted, hoisted the sails and we sailed in God's name to Parens [Parenzo].<sup>1</sup> Item from Venice to Parens, 100 miles. Item Parens is a small town of the Venetians, a good harbour where all ships must, under great penalty, anchor before they sail through to Venice, as it is a very perilous passage. Item this town lies in Istria and the people speak the Wendish or Slavonic language. Item a separate bishopric. Item in the cathedral lie two holy bodies, St. Maurus and St. Leuterius.

Item I will not describe all the dangers and adventures which befell us by day and night on the sea, since another sailing the same course over the sea at the same time or place might have better or worse weather than I had. I will therefore describe the towns and several harbours which lie on the left hand on land.

Item from Parens to Rubina [Rovigno], a little town of the Venetians and a good harbour.

Item from Rubina to St. Andreas, 2 miles.

This is a small island. On the hill lies a monastery of Minorite brothers wherein lies in person a holy virgin St. Fomya.

Item from St. Andreas to Brionia<sup>2</sup> [Brioni], 13 miles. which is a small island of the Venetians. Here we lay eight days waiting for other merchant vessels. During the time the patron loaded the ship with freestone, which served as ballast for the ship, from which also they make cannon balls. Item the Venetians fetch all their building material and freestone from this island. I am of the opinion that this island does not measure more than one-and-a-half German miles in circumference, yet it brings to the government of Venice every year 12,000 ducats.

Item since we lay quiet for a long time in this harbour, loading water and stones and waiting for a favourable wind, I went often up and down the ship, estimating and measuring its size, and

<sup>1</sup> Tafur (p. 156) confirms the good shelter and excellent anchorage at Parenzo. There is a description in Casola, p. 162. Views in Breydenbach, Davies, pl. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Casola, p. 333. Most of the stone used for buildings at Venice came from Brioni and Rovigno.

what I then saw I will now relate.<sup>1</sup> Item in the first place the vessel was one hundred and seventy-four feet long and thirty-six feet broad. Item the patron was a gentleman of Venice, Messer Andrea Laurendano<sup>2</sup> by name. He had a fine cabin in the ship with a bed gilded over and furnished as in a prince's court. Item this patron had his food and drink served in dishes and goblets covered with silver and gold. Item he had eight trumpeters, two being Germans, who trumpeted him when he went to dinner and when he had finished.<sup>3</sup> Also in the morning, at daybreak, and in the evening at sunset. Also when the great sail was hoisted and when one came to a town they all had to trumpet. Item the patron had sixty masters of ordnance and carpenters, smiths and all kinds of workpeople, so that he had five hundred men on board to whom he paid wages. Item the ship had three masts, namely two forward and one above in the top-castle [merstze]. Item the main-mast and the biggest could not be encircled by four men. This was not made of one piece of wood, but of many pieces scarfed together and bound with ropes. This same mast, from the base to the summit, was two hundred and twenty-four feet high. At the summit was the top-castle in which twelve men could be stationed for defence. Item the top-castle had its own mast and sail. Altogether there were six sails in the ship for use when she ran before the wind and had a good wind.

Item on the great sail there was a rare painting of St. Chris-

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (I, p. 127) has a long description of a galley. Cp. Casola, p. 155. The top-castle is shown clearly in the picture of a galley in Breydenbach (Davies, pl. 21, 24). Cp. the picture in Tafur, p. 168. Sir Geoffrey Callender has been kind enough to assist me here. In his view the ship was quite clearly a two-masted vessel, but von Harff's measurements are difficult to follow. He seems to have calculated the foot as a measurement personal to himself, but Sir Geoffrey Callender points out that the distance between decks is more likely to have been 7 ft. than 8 ft. and cannot, he thinks, have been 12 ft., even if the accommodation was roomier than that of wooden ships of the eighteenth century. We cannot possibly accept 224 ft. as the height of the mast, even if we reckon the measurement from the stepping of the mast on the keelson to the summit. The measurements of the sail seem also far too large.

<sup>2</sup> The family of Lorendano was much concerned with the pilgrim traffic in the fifteenth century. See Casola, index, sub. nom.

<sup>3</sup> Fabri (I, p. 153) describes the trumpeters and how the captain and those of his council were served on silver dishes.

topher, and beneath his feet was written in great letters. *Jhesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat, sic ego autem transibo per medium illorum ibo.* This sail was one hundred and twenty feet deep and one hundred and fourteen feet broad. Item the ship had a draught underwater of thirty-four feet. Item she had aft five decks, one above another, not counting the floor of the hold: each by my foot twelve feet high, and the lowest, reckoning to the floor of the hold itself, was eighteen feet in depth. Item the guns were trained ready to shoot; first eight iron carthouns: item two brass copper carthouns which were fastened to the main mast. One was as broad as my two hands with outstretched thumbs. Each shot a ball weighing one hundred and fifty pounds. Item an iron serpentine was fastened at the stern by the rudder. It had a nineteen feet run. It had also chambers. Item six iron slings and two copper slings, each having an eighteen feet run and shooting a ball weighing forty-two pounds. These were all shot from iron forks which surprised me greatly. Item eighty four half iron slings with a run of eight or nine feet. These were also shot from iron forks. Item ninety-two stone throwers, with a five or six feet run, which were also shot from forks. Item twenty copper arquebusses which were placed in the top-castle. Item these cannon all had chambers except the carthouns and the copper slings. Item the chief gunner was a German, born in St. Truyden. He told me that they had in the ship more than 6,000 iron and stone cannon balls. In addition there were stone masons employed daily in the ship making cannon balls. Item they had also in the ship fifty tons of powder. Item in the room, where the patron was accustomed to eat, above and on all sides were weapons in good order, hand-guns, spears, daggers, halberds, crossbows, and stone-throwers. In addition each man in the ship had his armour and weapons. Item in the ship were a baking oven, a grinding mill and a forge. The patron told me that he had to find in the ship two hundred ducats every day for food and pay.

Item from Brionia we sailed to Pola, 5 miles,  
with an evil wind. This is a very old town, a harbour, which  
belongs to the lordship of Venice. Here one sees many old walls.  
Item on the right hand outside the town is an ancient and splen-

did palace built with great stones.<sup>1</sup> Thirty men could not move one of the stones from its place. How then is it possible that these great stones were placed there? I was told that it was built by giants in the old days, as can be read in the chronicles, and that Dietrich of Bern was kept there a prisoner for a long time. Further, that at the same time the Hungarians had over-run all the country of Albania, Istria, and all Wendish lands, as far as this town of Pola, which means, in the Greek language, stop. Further that the giants kept the town. Item the Venetians are now causing the palace to be broken up and are building their palaces in Venice therewith. It is said that the Doge's palace is built entirely from this palace. Item on the left hand in this town there is also a great palace, which is quite round and has as many windows as there are days in the year, which are twenty-four feet high.<sup>2</sup> It is built like the Colosseum at Rome, but at the top it is much larger. It is said that in the old days the giants and wild beasts strove and fought together in this palace with all kinds of triumphs, while the lords sat aloft watching the sport. Item all round the town are many splendid stone tombs six feet above the earth, closed with a stone lid. They stand there a hundred in a row, now fifty now thirty all in rows, so that I was told that the tombs round the town numbered more than 3,000.

Item from Pola to Sara [Zara], 15 miles.

On this voyage we saw on the right hand a large town under a mountain, called Ancona. Item Zara is a small strong town: within it is an archbishopric. Item in the cathedral lies St. Simon the Just, also in the high altar lies in person the prophet Joel.<sup>3</sup>

Item from Zara we sailed to Lesyna<sup>4</sup> [Lesina], a hundred miles, but with great misfortune, so that we all gave ourselves up for lost, as in the middle of the night during a thunderstorm the mast above the top-castle caught fire, but that would take too

<sup>1</sup> This must be the theatre of Julia, now only to be recognised by a semi-circular cutting in the hill. Fabri, III, p. 375, and Walther (p. 71) give the same explanation of the name.

<sup>2</sup> The amphitheatre. Cp. Walther, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Most travellers mention the relics. Cp. Rieter, p. 41, but he mentions only the skull of the prophet Joel.

<sup>4</sup> On Lesina. See Casola, p. 329.



long to describe. Item this town of Lesyna is under the dominion of Venice and lies in the kingdom of Dalmatia.

Item from Lysina to Kutzula [Curzola], 1 mile,  
with an evil wind. This town is also subject to Venice and lies  
in Slavonia.

Item from Kurtzula to Regusa [Ragusa],<sup>1</sup> 70 miles.

This is a very fine and strong city. Item it governs itself and is subject to nobody, although they have to pay tribute to the king of Hungary. They have also now to pay tribute to the Turks in order to have peace with them. Item this city lies in the kingdom of Croatia, and they speak the Slavonic tongue which extends far and wide throughout the Wendish lands, Slavonia, the kingdom of Poland and the kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia. I have noted some words from the language and write them down here.

### Item Slavonic speech.<sup>2</sup>

#### Item

crochga,	bread
vyno,	wine
voda,	water
messo,	meat
zere,	cheese
guska,	a goose
rijba,	a fish
kokoss,	a chicken
scho,	salt
bytte,	to drink
iehe,	to eat
iachge,	an egg
ia,	I
potzgo,	I will

<sup>1</sup> There is an excellent description of Ragusa in Casola, pp. 172-179. Cp. Rieter, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> This vocabulary has been checked by Dr. W. A. Morison of The School of Slavonic and East European Studies. The dialect is Slavonic (Serbo-Croat) and most of the words can be identified, although there are errors in transcription. I have made one or two corrections, but on the whole it is better than might be expected.

gotzo,	yes
netzgo,	no
dobro,	good
eslae,	bad
chackauwe,	truly
bomegist,	a lie [certainly it is]
dreuo,	a ship
schoffieck,	a man
gotzpoga,	a nobleman
gena,	a wife
gostpotymbo,	our Lord God
wratze,	the devil
swyckga,	a candle
konege,	a horse
besenitza,	wheat
cerrest,	hay
traba,	straw
benese,	money
eslade,	a gulden [gold]
operate,	to wash
kosola,	a shirt
spate,	to sleep
schepate,	to marry

sena potzgo spate,	woman shall I sleep with you?
mosse spate odij,	can we sleep here?
dobro jutro,	good morning
dobro wetzgijr,	good night
koliko vo,	how much does that cost?
ja potzko kopita,	I want to buy it
kaka tesimi,	what is the name of that?

## Numbers.

jeden,	one	sedam,	seven
duwa,	two	oescham,	eight
trij,	three	debet,	nine
tzettyr,	four	deschet,	ten
pete,	five	staet,	hundred
seest,	six	gleden,	thousand

Item from Regusa to Dulcina [Dulcigno], 100 miles.  
This is a very fine small town subject to the Venetians. It lies in Albania, a province.

Item from Dulcina to Duratzo [Durazzo],<sup>1</sup> 70 miles.

We sailed with an evil wind. This is a great town ruined by the Turks, now subject to Venice. Item this town lies in Albania where they have also their own language, which it is difficult to write, as they have their own letters in this country. Item I noted some words of this Albanian speech which I have written down in our letters.

Item, Albanian language.<sup>2</sup>

Item

boicke,	bread
vene,	wine
oie,	water
mische,	meat
jat,	cheese
foeije,	eggs
oitter,	vinegar
poyllle,	a chicken
pyske,	fish
krup,	salt
myr,	good
kyckge,	piece? firearm
megarune,	eat
pijne,	drink
tauerne,	an inn
geneyre,	a man
growa,	a woman
denarye,	silver money
sto,	yes

<sup>1</sup> On Durazzo, see Fabri, 1, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Von Harff is said to be the first to report on the Albanian language. Von Seydlitz (p. 10), quoting G. Meyer in 'Albanesischen Studien', Bd. cvii of Mitt. d. phil. hist. klasse d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. Vienna, 1884. Dr. Morison has kindly checked this vocabulary also. The words can be identified, but there are errors in transcription.

jae,	no
criste,	God [Christ]
dreck,	the devil
kijrij,	a candle
kale,	a horse
elbe,	rye
fijet,	to sleep
mirenestrasse,	good morning
myreprama,	good night
meretzewen,	good day

ake ja kasse zet ve,	what are your orders?
kess felgen gyo kaffs,	what does that cost?
do daple,	I want to buy it
laff ne kaunmijss,	wash my shirt for me
ne kaffs,	what is that called?

## Numbers

nea,	one	statte,	seven
dua,	two	tette,	eight
trij,	three	nante,	nine
quater,	four	dieta,	ten
pessa,	five	nijtgint,	a hundred
jast,	six	nemijgo,	thousand

Item from Duratzo to Saseno,<sup>1</sup>

70 miles.

We sailed there in five hours. 'This is a very fine harbour. Item Saseno is a little island of the 'Turks. Item there are on it two little Greek chapels, one to our blessed Lady, the other called after St. Nicholas. At this time the lord of the 'Turks had put some very fine stallions to pasture in this island. Item on the left of this harbour, on the mainland, is a very fine and large village called Velona, which has 2000 hearths. This village is able to supply the 'Turkish Emperor with seven hundred horsemen, not counting foot soldiers. Item above this village is a fine hill-castle called Kano, where the Turkish Emperor has an official in residence. Item here at Velona is a large river of

<sup>1</sup> Saseno is a small island close to Valona.

sweet water called Buyona, which flowing from Turkey from the north, enters the sea here. It comes from Sckuterym [Scutari], a large fortified town which the Turkish Emperor took from the lordship of Venice a few years ago. Item here in Saseno is a large harbour wherein the Turks have always a number of vessels. Fourteen years ago the Turks set out from this harbour<sup>1</sup> across the gulf, sailing in some six hours fifty Lombard miles, to Poellen [Apulia] and Calabria, belonging to the kingdom of Naples. They took a fine and large town called Idrontum [Hydruntum: Otranto] with many other towns which they held for a year and a day. Item in the neighbourhood is a very high mountain.

Item from Saseno to Corfoin<sup>2</sup> [Corfu], 100 miles, sailing with a good wind. This is an island subject to the Venetians and is about one hundred and eighty Italian miles broad. Item on this island is a town called Corfu, a fine harbour, which we entered. Above this town are two hill-castles which guard the town. Item in the town the Greek language is spoken.

Item from Corfu to Modon, 300 miles. We sailed past an island called Schaffonijen [Cephalonia] on which the Turkish Emperor has a very strong castle. This island is some seventy miles from Corfu, and from it we sailed about thirty miles past another island called Sante, on which is a small town belonging to Venice. Item the distance from Sante to Modon is two hundred miles. Item this town of Modon is very strong. It is subject to the Venetians, and the land belonging to it is called Morea, which lies near to Turkey.<sup>3</sup> Item here they speak the Greek language and keep to St. Paul's belief. But the Venetians are building and founding there a Roman bishopric where the service is according to our use. Item they have also built there a mother church of St. Leo, where he lies in person. There is also the head of St. Anastasius. Item I found there a

<sup>1</sup> The Turkish expedition against Otranto sailed from Valona in August 1480.

<sup>2</sup> Casola (pp. 183-188) has a long description of Corfu. It was called 'the door of Venice', Tafur, p. 48. Views in Breydenbach, Davis, plates, 14, 15.

<sup>3</sup> On Modone, Cp. Casola, p. 191. In 1204 the Morea fell to Venice on the division of the Byzantine Empire. Cp. Tafur, p. 50; Rieter, p. 47.

German master-gunner called Peter Bombadere, who gave me good company and friendship. He showed me the strength of the town and the artillery, and it is in truth a small town but strong. On the land side it has three suburbs with three walls and three ditches hewn out of the natural rock, on which they are building daily. Item he took me round the innermost wall, which was very thick and built of rough stones: in addition there is a rampart against the wall on which stood many fine cannon, great carthouns and slings. Item we went further beyond the gate into the first suburb in which is a very long street inhabited solely by Jews, whose women-folk do beautiful work in silk, making girdles, hoods, veils and face coverings, some of which I bought. Item we proceeded through the suburb, which is inhabited by many poor black naked people who live in little houses roofed with reeds, some three hundred families. They are called gipsies:<sup>1</sup> we call them heathen people from Egypt who travel about in our countries. These people follow all kinds of trade, such as shoemakers, cobblers and smiths. It was strange to see the anvil on the ground at which a man sat like a tailor in our country. By him, also on the ground, sat his housewife spinning, so that the fire was between them. Beside them were two small leather sacks like a bagpipe which were half buried in the ground by the fire. As the woman sat spinning she raised one of the sacks from the ground from time to time and pressed it down again. This forced wind through the earth into the fire so that the smith could work. Item these people come from a country called Gyppe, which lies about forty miles from the town of Modon. The Turkish Emperor took it sixty years ago, but many lords and counts would not serve under the Turkish Emperor and fled to our country to Rome, to our holy father the Pope, seeking comfort and support from him. At their request he sent letters of recommendation to the Roman Emperor and to all princes of the Empire that they should give them safe

<sup>1</sup> The gipsies are mentioned by other travellers, e.g. Walther, p. 82; Fabri, III, p. 338; D. von Schachten, Röhricht-Meisner, p. 180, who also mentions the forges in the houses. Views in Breydenbach, Davies, plates, 17, 18. Walther von Guglingen (1482) also met at Modone a German gunner, possibly the same man. Walther, p. 259.

conduct and support, since they were driven out for the Christian faith. He sent these letters to all princes, but none gave them help. They died in misery, bequeathing the letters to their servants and children, who to this day wander about the country calling themselves Little Egyptians. But this is untrue, since their parents were born in the land of Gyppe, called T'zigania, which place is not half way from here at Cologne to Egypt. For which reason they have become vagabonds and spy out the land. Item this master-gunner has a very pretty walled garden in which were all kinds of rare fruit, in which he showed us great honour with all kinds of delights. Item in this province no other wine grows than Romennije which is very strong and good.<sup>1</sup>

Item from Modon to Candia, 300 miles.  
As we sailed out of the harbour there is a little island on the right side called Sapiencia. Item for about forty miles we sailed along a small island called Citryll [Cerigo] which is very fruitful. It has three small towns on it, and is subject to the lordship of Venice. Item this island was formerly a kingdom, and this is the island about which one reads in the histories, how Paris came from Troy to this island and carried off the wife of King Menelay, called the beautiful Helen, and took her by ship to Troy, whereupon the Greeks marched against the mighty city of Troy and besieged it, as appears more particularly in the history of Troy.<sup>2</sup>

Item as we sailed past this island a great wind and tempest arose so that we were forced to return, but with God's great mercy, and with labour and work we came unexpectedly to Turkey, to a little harbour between two rocks where, with God's help, our anchor held fast. From there we saw far out to sea another ship approaching us. We did not know whether she was an enemy or not, or, as she had observed our harbour, whether we ought to leave. Item as she came to the harbour she cast

<sup>1</sup> The wine was known in the fifteenth century as 'rumney of Modon'. Cp. Casola, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> A tradition reported by other travellers. Röhricht (p. 58, note 190) suggests that it comes from Mandeville, but I cannot find the reference.

anchor, but it did not hold so that the ship drove against the rocks and was wrecked. Whereupon there were great distress and lamentations. But our sailors went to the rescue of the crew and saved them, but all the cargo was wrecked and sunk, which was said to be worth more than twice a hundred thousand ducats. We were forced to lie quiet in this harbour for five days waiting for a good wind, and on the sixth day we sailed for Candia.

Item Candia is a fine strong town which lies on a great island seven hundred miles broad. On it are many towns and castles which are subject to the rule of Venice. They have built and founded there a Latin bishopric. There are also in the outer town many Latin monasteries, but Greeks also live in the island who follow in their church the belief of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup> Item this island was formerly a kingdom, and no other wine grows there except the real Malmsey, which is very strong and good. Item there grow also in this island many trees of genuine Cyprus wood, from which all kinds of buildings, stools, benches, dishes and doors are made. Item it is said also that in this island there were first invented all kinds of musical instruments.<sup>2</sup> They forge also materials for ships and [were the inventors of] letters. They make also things necessary for cross bows, guns and other weapons. Item the lordship of Venice has a fine array of ordinance in this town, which was shown to me by a German master-gunner, Master Peter, born in Ulm.

Item from Candia to Alexandria, 500 miles.  
We sailed on free from care. But when we were about a hundred miles out at sea there came against us a great tempest and a storm of wind which drove us northwards, quite three hundred miles in the night. We were in great danger and stress on account of the sharp rocks, of which there are many in the sea between Candia and Rhodes. Item when day broke the ship's people

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Casola, p. 201. 'There are many other smaller churches served by very ignorant Greek priests'. Views in Breydenbach, Davies, pl. 19, 20. Crete passed to Venice on the break-up of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 and into Turkish hands in 1669.

<sup>2</sup> Von Harff has 'zeyttenspyll'. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 280, 'et arcus ac sagittae ibi inventae sunt, et ibi jura litteris data sunt, et equestres turmas tribuunt, et studium musicum primo in ea est inventum.'



knew where they were, and said that they could see the island of Rhodes. Then everyone gave counsel that we should approach the harbour of Rhodes in order to escape the weather. I heard this news with joy because I wanted to see the town.

Item from Candia to Rhodes, 300 miles.

Rhodes is quite a small but strong town surrounded by forts, ditches, walls and gates. Item this town and island belong to the knights of St. John, and their ruler is called the Grand Master, who was at this time an old man, born in the kingdom of Auvergne, called Petrus de Buscho,<sup>1</sup> a cardinal. Item this Grand Master has improved the town out of all knowledge, with walls, gates, bulwarks and ditches, since the 'Turkish Emperor attacked it sixteen years ago and besieged and cannonaded and harried it. Yet with the help of Almighty God the Grand Master and the knights held the town with a strong hand. Therefore, since then, the Grand Master has caused the walls to be repaired with hard and great stones, forty-four feet thick, not counting the curtains. Item in front of the wall is a draw-bridge half built into the ditch, with its flank wall about forty feet thick. Item beyond it is a ditch hewn out of a rock. Item then a rampart walled on both sides, which is quite eighty feet broad at the top, having strong bulwarks before the gates and doors, and at this time they were building a very strong bulwark by the rampart in front of the Auvergne Gate. I measured it carefully and it was some four hundred feet long and fifty broad and had three battlements, one above the other, all in the ditch. Item outside the rampart was yet another deep ditch, hewn out of a rock, which was walled in on both sides.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre d'Aubusson, elected 1476, died 1503. He withstood the 'Turkish siege of 1480 with great courage and determination. He was a great builder and altered walls and buildings everywhere after the siege and the earthquake of 1481. 'There is hardly a corner where his shield is not to be seen.' de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 38. In 1494 Casola (p. 205) found many traces of the siege and thought the signs would remain until the day of judgment. Some of the stones fired from mortars were so enormous that it was incredible that they had been thrown from a cannon. Men then at Rhodes, who had seen warfare all over Europe, had never beheld such guns. Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times*, p. 18. Fabri, III, p. 260, gives the number of stone shot fired into the town as 3,500; Dietrich von Schachten (Röhricht-Meisner, p. 184) the astronomical figure of 300,000.

Item this town has northwards towards the sea a fine harbour closed with two stone jetties. Item on one jetty or dyke on the right hand are thirteen round stone towers, on which are windmills, which the Genoese were forced to build in times past<sup>1</sup> as a memorial that in former years they tried to take the town by treachery. But the plot was discovered and the Genoese were captured, and certain of them were forced to build these towers as a defence and perpetual memorial. Item on account of this wickedness no Genoese was suffered from that time to enter the Order. Item at the end of this dyke is a very fine tower with strong bulwarks, which King Louis of France caused to be built.<sup>2</sup> Item on the dyke on the left hand are, first three towers with windmills, and close by is a little chapel, which the present Grand Master caused to be built in honour of St. Nicholas. Near this at the end of the dyke is a very fine tower quite twenty-four feet thick which the Turk shot away in the siege. Item after this the Grand Master caused it to be rebuilt stronger than ever, but they left the encircling wall which is some fifty feet thick. Item this tower is called St. Nicholas' Tower, which was originally built by Philip of Burgundy.<sup>3</sup> Item opposite this tower outside the town, on a little arm of the sea, is a small chapel which is the burying place of the pilgrims who die on the way to Jerusalem, in which is buried Duke Christoph of Bavaria,<sup>4</sup> who a few years ago was buried there, with many of the brothers. Item where this little church stands the besiegers in the Turkish

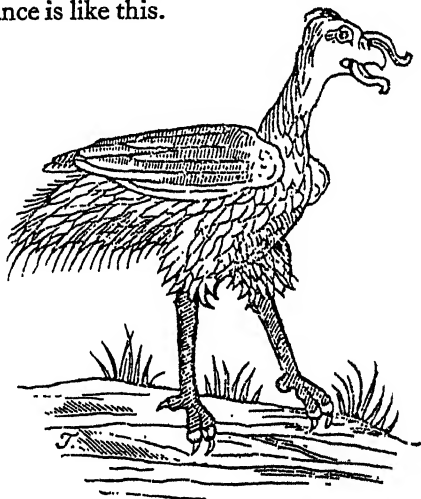
<sup>1</sup> The windmills are shown in Breydenbach's views. They were all destroyed during the siege of 1480, but were immediately rebuilt. The story that they were built by the Genoese is told by Tucher (Rieter, p. 49). The allusion must be to the attack of 1248, although the Genoese actually captured the city and held it for some time against the Byzantines. Torr, p. 38. Cp. Casola, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> The windmill tower, ascribed to Louis IX who is said to have built it on his way to the crusade of 1248. Torr, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> St. Nicholas Fort. Philip of Burgundy contributed to its erection by sending 12,000 golden crowns in memory of the stand made there by a party of Burgundians who held the old fort against the Egyptians in 1444. Torr, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> The chapel was called St. Anthony's chapel. It was on the spit opposite St. Nicholas Fort. It was destroyed by the Turks, but rebuilt by the Grand Master d'Aubusson shortly after. Torr, p. 42. Duke Christoph of Bavaria died at Rhodes on 15 August 1493. Röhricht-Meisner, p. 298. His burial in St. Anthony's chapel is mentioned by other travellers.

siege had an army which destroyed the tower from across the gulf. For this purpose they attempted to build a bridge across the arm of the sea, which was shot away so that the Turks suffered great damage.<sup>1</sup> Item from this chapel, outside the town, as far as the palace, the Grand Master has laid out a beautiful walled garden, in which we saw all kinds of strange creatures,<sup>2</sup> such as an old ostrich with two young ones. Item these are most wonderful birds. They are as tall as an ass and have marvellous feathers. They have also two large wings which they cannot lift to fly. They have also long legs with cloven feet like a deer. Item they lay also very large eggs, which are as large as a young child's head. When these birds have laid the eggs in the hot sand they hatch out the young with their piercing sight alone. Item I was told that they digest steel and iron, but this I have not seen. Their appearance is like this.



Item southwards round the town there are three round towers with windmills. Item as one continues round the town, through the Auvergne Gate, there are also four towers

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this floating bridge built by the Turks to attack St. Nicholas, and how it was destroyed and the attack frustrated, see Torr, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> The garden was noted for its curiosities which included, besides ostriches, Indian sheep and other strange creatures. Peter Rindfleisch (1496) Röhricht-Meisner, p. 339; Torr, p. 42.

with windmills on the heights of the town. Item from these heights we went down to St. John's church. Beside this the Grand Master has his palace.<sup>1</sup> Item first as one enters he has on both sides some very fine cannon. On the left hand is a very fine piece which was, measuring by my foot, thirty-one feet long and I put my knee on it and my fist in front inside the gun. Item we continued to St. John's Church where they showed us the following relics.<sup>2</sup> Item a metal cross which was made from the basin from which Christ washed his disciples' feet on Holy Thursday. Item two long thorns from the crown of our Lord Jesus Christ. Item a penny from the thirty for which Christ was sold. The Grand Master caused this penny to be counterfeited and had many of them made in its image, of which he gave us each thirty.<sup>3</sup> Item the head of the holy virgin Fylomene. Item a large piece of the Holy Cross. Item an arm of St. Blasius. Item an arm of St. Stephen, the first martyr. Item an arm of St. John the Baptist. Item an arm of the knight St. George. Item an arm of St. Thomas the Apostle, of which I have seen many. The confusions of the clergy I leave to God to settle. Item an arm of St. Leodegarius. Item the head of St. Euphemia the virgin. Item the head of Policarp. Item a hand of St. Clare, the virgin. Item a hand of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary. Item one shows also in this church on St. Catherine's day her left arm with the hand, but I have not seen this. Item we continued to the market place, to a church of Our blessed Lady, a bishopric of the Romish order.<sup>4</sup> The bishop has each year some two hundred ducats to spend. Item there were at this time at Rhodes some five hundred knights, brothers of the Order of St. John, all noblemen

<sup>1</sup> The palace was destroyed by a gunpowder explosion in 1856. Torr, p. 41. It was a large square building with an open courtyard. Its position is shown in Torr's map.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing now remains of this church. It was destroyed by the explosion in 1856. de Belabre, p. 103; Torr, p. 41. The relics are mentioned by other travellers. Fabri, III, p. 287; Walther, p. 87; Rieter, p. 50; Tafur, p. 52. It was said that one of the thorns blossomed on Good Friday. Cp. Torr, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Also mentioned by Rieter, p. 50. In 1480 John Tucher of Nuremberg made a mould of this penny with which he afterwards struck copies. Fabri, I, p. 538. Torr, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Our Lady of Victories. See de Belabre, p. 151. One of Casola's companions who died at Rhodes was buried in the church, p. 306.

born from seven nations of the Latin speech,<sup>1</sup> from the German lands, France, the kingdom of Auvergne, Provence, Spain, Portugal, and England, each of these nations having its own gate and tower at Rhodes which they have to defend. Item this island of Rhodes is very fruitful, pleasant, and hilly, with fertile valleys. Item it lies just to the north of Turkey across a little arm of the sea, a mile broad. Item this island has suffered much during recent years from earthquake; houses, churches, and walls being destroyed and broken down, which also happened at this time to the kingdom of Cyprus. Item the inhabitants of this island are Greeks, except the knights and their servants. Item a Greek and a Turk are known by their beards. The Turk shaves the beard clean off beneath the chin and keeps the hair above the mouth growing long, which he twists like the tusks of a boar, and the Greek cuts the lower beard almost to a finger's breadth and lets the hair grow above the mouth like the Turk. They go about dressed like this.



<sup>1</sup> Actually there were eight nations or 'tongues', reduced to seven when England shook off the yoke of Rome. de Belabre, p. 18. Ludolph of Suchem in 1350 (p. 34) gives the number of knights as 350, Dietrich von Schachten 300, Röhricht-Meisner, p. 186. Cp. *ibid.*, p. 101 (an anonymous traveller of 1441 who gives 500).

Item these Greeks had at one time their own Empire at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> In addition they owned three famous Christian churches at Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, but now through arrogance they are not willing to submit themselves to the Roman Church, but keep to the law and teaching which St. Paul the Apostle gave them when he said: 'keep this law which I now give you until I come to you again', with which they make answer to the Latin Christians. Item they allow in their sect that priests can take wives, and they wear their beards unshaved, by which one knows them in the form in which they are drawn here. Item they hold Saturday in great reverence and eat meat on Saturdays, except on Easter Even, when they fast. They also have their children confirmed immediately after baptism by a simple priest. Item the priests also break pieces of bread in their sacraments, which every week they administer to grown people and to young children, with intent to wash away their original sin. Item the pastors do not mix water with the wine in their sacraments, and they warm the wine in remembrance of Jesus' warm blood. Item they are accustomed to read the Epistles and Gospels in their own tongue, as we do in our country. Item these Greeks stand upright and hear Mass with great devotion, crying to God. Item they believe that the Holy Ghost springs from the Father and not from the Son. Item in their divine services they use the Greek tongue, which all understand well. This is the Greek alphabet with which they write and read.

alpha	bita	gama	delta	e	zita
Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ
ita	chita	iota	cappa	lamda	mi
Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
ni	xi	o micron	pi	ro	sigma
Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ
tau	ypsilon	phi	chi	psi	o mega
Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω

<sup>1</sup> Most of this seems to come from Mandeville who probably got it from J. de Vitry. See note in Warner's edition of Mandeville, p. 161.

Item as I travelled through Greece I retained certain names from their speech which are in daily use, namely;<sup>1</sup>

Item:

ipschomij,	bread
kressij,	wine
nero,	water
kreyas,	meat
alas,	salt
ornytea,	hen
tyri,	cheese
kyri,	candle
lady,	oily
pyssary,	fish
kyside,	vinegar
afoga,	eggs
gyna,	goose
ego,	I
ne,	yes
oischi,	no
karafia,	ship
andra,	man
kyra,	woman
kory,	maid
more,	boy
kala,	good
kaka,	penance [punishment]
deu,	God
dyabulo,	devil
karthey,	silver money
kartzaffe,	ducat
joie,	to drink

<sup>1</sup> The alphabet is practically identical with that in Breydenbach (Davies, plate 40) the first German edition of which was published in 1486. Most of the words in the vocabulary can be identified. They represent the vernacular of von Harff's time, which is very near the modern vernacular, although his ear led him astray at times. (I am indebted to Sir George Hill for this information.)

faye,	to eat
napte,	drinks
alogo,	horse
agyro,	straw
krethary,	barley
gymathy,	sleep
gamyssso,	marry
kyratza,	pretty lady

kyratza gamysso sena ego,	woman, shall I marry you?
po ne gymaty ego,	where shall I sleep?
kyrasche nazis gymati metosena,	good woman, let me sleep with you
pone tauerna,	where is the inn?
kyrasche ego me panda dycosso,	woman, I am already in your bed
posse soldija,	how much is this money worth?
posse acktzeszo tuto,	what does that cost?
ego thelo nagorcischo,	I will buy it.
ena bokams namo plynis,	wash my shirt for me

## Numbers

ena,	one	effta,	seven
duwa,	two	ochto,	eight
trija,	three	enije,	nine
teesera,	four	decka,	ten
pendy,	five	katho,	a hundred
etzi,	six	gyla,	a thousand

Item after we had stayed eight days at Rhodes waiting for good weather, during which time we had seen everything, we prepared ourselves with everything necessary in the ship for our voyage over the rough sea to Alexandria, which is five hundred miles, with no islands in between. Item we sailed first out of the harbour at Rhodes, five miles further by the same island, to take in wood and fresh water, in a fine strong harbour between two



high strong hill-castles belonging to the lords of Rhodes. One is called Ferreclais, the other Lindauwe, which the Turkish Emperor was never able to capture.<sup>1</sup>

Item from this harbour we sailed with a good wind in six days to Alexandria. Item as we drew near to the town of Alexandria and were about thirty Italian miles away, the governor of Alexandria, called the Armereyo,<sup>2</sup> sent to us. He is sent each year by the Sultan from among the Mamelukes (who are renegade Christians) from Cairo to Alexandria to govern the town. Item he inspected us and enquired who we were and what we wanted. We answered that we were Venetians and carried merchandise. The heathen servant of the Armereyo at once wrote a letter and tied it under the wing of a tame pigeon, which they had brought in a crate, and let it fly away. The bird was soon in the Armereyo's palace, bringing tidings who we were and what goods we carried, which he at once reported to the Sultan. I was told that this was done also in the same way with pigeons from Alexandria to Cairo, where the Sultan holds his court, but I did not see this.<sup>3</sup>

Item as we came now into the harbour of Alexandria, which is very large, we sailed next past a strong castle which lies in the sea, having a double wall from the castle to the land. This is well fortified with sixty strong towers and was built recently by Katubee, the father of the young Sultan. As we passed the castle we had to dip our great sail as a token of respect to the castle. They then fired a number of shots from the castle in honour of

<sup>1</sup> The castles of Pheraclios and Lindos. de Belabre, pp. 171, 176; Torr, pp. 44, 45.

<sup>2</sup> V. Harff writes sometimes 'armereyo', at others 'armarigo'. Fabri (III, p. 105) has 'amiraldus, princeps exercituum'; Rieter (p. 124) 'armyrey'; Wolf von Zülhart (1495) 'armereys legrand', Röhricht-Meisner, p. 313. Ghistele (p. 148) has 'amirael, dats een Capitein van hondert glavien ten minsten'. The word is a corruption of 'amuratus' or emir.

<sup>3</sup> Symon Simeonis, 1323 (pp. 18, 19) records that officials boarded the ship, hauled down the sail and wrote down the name of everybody on board. He also notes the use of carrier pigeons. Cp. Tafur, p. 68; Schiltberger, p. 53; Ludolph, p. 80. The royal pigeons had a distinguishing mark and no one but the Sultan could detach the message. Lane-Poole, *History*, p. 246. Ghistele (p. 181) says that the merchants were in the habit of catching the pigeons and taking particulars of the merchandise listed in the letters before letting the birds fly on.

the Venetians, and we did the same from our ship. Item, when we had anchored in the harbour of Alexandria, no one was allowed to leave the ship except the patron and my dragoman, who was a Mameluke and of their kind. They went into the town to the Armarigo to obtain free conduct, as for Venetian merchants. Each one had to pay two ducats, which is the amount usually paid by merchants in heathen towns for passes. Item for each load of merchandise that they bring or carry away they have to pay ten out of every hundred ducats as duty to the Sultan. Had they known that I was a pilgrim I should have had to pay five ducats and I should have lost the ruler's favour by my deception.<sup>1</sup> Item we came into the town to lodge in the Venetian Fondaco, which is the merchants' house, of which the Venetians have two in this town, in which their servants live. They showed us great honour, serving us with food and drink for a ducat a week. Item this Fondaco or merchants' house is locked on the outside each evening by the heathen and opened again early in the morning.<sup>2</sup>

Item after I had remained in the Fondaco for two days resting myself, I went as a merchant with the others through the town seeing everything. I observed and am of opinion that Alexandria is not much smaller than Cologne. It is however much ruined within, with all kinds of fallen buildings, but it still has good walls, towers and ditches built after our manner, which were built when it was a Christian town.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pilgrims seem to have had less trouble with the customs than merchants, but their reception could be most unpleasant. Fabri (III, pp. 144 ff.) recounts his trouble at length—'numquam ita male fuimus hospitio recepti, sicut Alexandriae'. Pilgrims were lodged in the Fondaco of the Catalans, the 'hospitium omnium Christianorum peregrinorum'. Walther, p. 240. On the customs, the *Fondachi*, and generally, see Heyd, II, p. 429 ff. Leo (p. 862) records that strangers were ransacked 'even to their verie shirts'.

<sup>2</sup> Chistele (p. 177) says this was done to protect the merchants from the heathen.

<sup>3</sup> Breydenbach (Davies, plate 28) has a view of Alexandria. Walther (p. 241) notes the lofty walls and towers, the gates and the mosques, but adds: 'interius vero civitas est destructa et desolata, et quotidie cadit domus supra domum, ita quod media pars civitatis est inhabitabilis nec populosa.' Cp. Fabri, III, p. 149; Leo, p. 863. Alexandria had not recovered from the plundering and destruction following the attack by the King of Cyprus in 1365. Cp. Rieter, p. 125, note 7.

Item in this town there are two artificial hills,<sup>1</sup> one almost in the centre of the town, the other lying higher in a corner of the town, on which stands a four-cornered tower<sup>2</sup> where every day there is a watchman who gives notice of incoming ships drawing near to the town. As many as he sees coming, so many flags he puts up on the tower. The Armarigo immediately sends messengers with crates of tame pigeons, as I have described above, to see what ships are approaching.

Item round about this town are many gay and beautiful gardens<sup>3</sup> with pleasant summer houses, in which grow great quantities of rare fruit, oranges, lemons, dates, canificiers, citrons, figs, bananas, and other rare fruit, which are all very sweet. But on account of the great heat in this country there are no apples, pears, plums, or cherries, which are cold by nature.

Item these are the holy places which they showed me in this town. They took me to a little cave half underground,<sup>4</sup> wherein St. Catherine lay a prisoner for twelve days without bodily food. Before entering one had to pay a *madyn*,<sup>5</sup> of which twenty-six go to a *scheraff*, which is the heathen gulden, as much as a ducat, which the Sultan mints. Item close by are two high red marble pillars twelve paces from each other, on which stood the wheel with the knives with which St. Catherine is said to have been martyred. Item outside the town are also two red marble pillars, one of which has now fallen

<sup>1</sup> Symon Simeonis (p. 28) notes the two sandy and lofty hills which the citizens ascended in search of sea air and the view. Ghistele (p. 180) says that the hills were made with great labour and expense.

<sup>2</sup> Some travellers, mistook this for the Pharos which had long since been destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> Symon Simeonis (p. 28) speaks of the magnificent gardens which abounded in fruit of all kinds.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Walther (p. 244); Symon Simeonis, p. 18. On the prison of St. Catherine see also Ghistele, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> *Madyn* = *Maidine*, a small piece of silver money, the value of which varied greatly with time and place. See the long note in Röhricht, p. 51, note 147; also Walther, p. 81, note 2. *Scheraff* = *sherifi*, or *ashrafi*, was the ordinary Turkish gold coin of about 53 grains troy, also known to Westerners as the sultan. It was equivalent to the sequin or ducat and was worth 120 aspers. S. Lane-Poole, *British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, VIII, p. xvii.

down.<sup>1</sup> On this place they struck off St. Catherine's holy head, and the angel carried the body with the head fifteen days' journey from there across the deserts of Arabia, southwards to a high mountain called Mt. Sinai, of which I shall write later.<sup>2</sup> Item in the town is a church called after St. Saba where St. Catherine had her dwelling. There is also a picture of our blessed Lady which St. Luke painted from life. This church is owned by the Greeks. Item in this town is also a church to St. Mark, in which he lived for a long time and where he was martyred and buried. Item it is now inhabited by Christians called Jacobites. Item another church called St. Michael's, also owned by Jacobites. Here they bury the Christian merchants or pilgrims from our country.<sup>3</sup>

Item within Alexandria are many fine mosques, which are heathen churches, in which they make their sacrifices to the God of heaven and to Mahomet, the prophet.

Item in this town are six *Fondachi*<sup>4</sup> or merchants' houses, of which the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Turks, Moors and Tartars each have one, in which they carry on a great trade, selling and buying goods. There are also sold daily Christian men and women, boys and young girls, who have been captured in Christian lands, for very little money, fifteen, twenty or thirty ducats, according as they are rated. First all their limbs are inspected, whether they are healthy, strong, sick, lame or weak, and so they buy them.<sup>5</sup> Item I saw also many white thrushes, of which many are taken in the gardens with threads.

Item I saw also many large ostriches, as well as many leopards,<sup>6</sup> of which I saw the young bought for a ducat. Item the leopard is a dreadful animal to look at. It has a head and throat like

<sup>1</sup> At the place of martyrdom Fabri (III, p. 159) speaks of two marble columns, one of which had fallen down. Not far off was Pompey's pillar.

<sup>2</sup> On Mt. Sinai. See below p. 140.

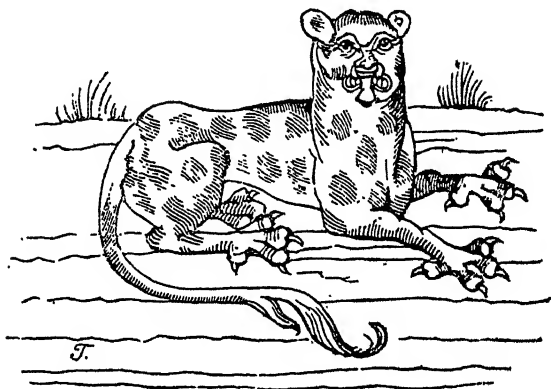
<sup>3</sup> On the churches see Walther, pp. 242, 243; Ghisteles, pp. 179-180. The picture by St. Luke of the Virgin is described by Ghisteles, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> On the *Fondachi*, see Heyd, II, pp. 431 ff. Ghisteles (p. 177) has an excellent description.

<sup>5</sup> The Tartars kept a slave market, open and permanent, in their *Fondaco*. Heyd, II, p. 432; Fabri, III, pp. 164, 165.

<sup>6</sup> Walther (p. 242) saw many strange animals at Alexandria. Fabri (III, p. 163) mentions leopards.

a lion and reddish hair, with black spots on its body, in this form.



Item this town of Alexandria lies in Syria, abutting on the land of Egypt. The great king Alexander first began to build it, from whom it takes its name. Item it rains very seldom in this town, but in the season when the Nile overflows it covers the whole land, causing the crops to grow. Further they have no sweet water in the town and therefore when it rains they store it in cisterns.

Item when we had seen everything, we bargained with a *mokari*, that is one who hires out asses, that he should carry us from Alexandria to Roscheto [Rosetta], forty miles along the sea. Here at Rosetta the river Nile, flowing through the land of Egypt, runs into the sea and it is here about as broad as the Rhine at Cologne. It enters the sea with such force that for fifty Italian miles it can be traced in the sea by its dull colour and its sweetness, and indeed when we were sailing to Alexandria and were fifty miles from Rosetta we could discern the Nile by its dulness, for it is always dull whereas the sea is green. We drew up there the water into the ship with buckets and it was as sweet as in the Nile. It seemed very strange to me that the river should keep its sweetness and dulness so far out at sea.

Item here, at Rosetta, we bargained with a heathen sailor that he should carry us up the Nile to Cairo, which journey takes

usually five days, for which each one gave a ducat: the distance is about three hundred miles. Item these ships that sail up the Nile are small and have long curved prows in front. They are called in Moorish, which is the heathen tongue, *schokarnia*. Item here at Rosetta the Egyptian land begins.

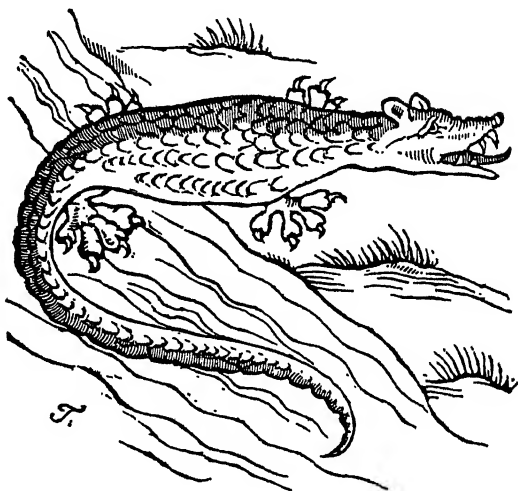
Item from Rosetta to Foya, fifty miles, we sailed up the Nile. On the way we saw much fruitful country on both sides, with rare fruit and crops<sup>1</sup> which mature twice in every year, although it rains very seldom there. This is how it happens: the Nile begins to rise every year at the beginning of August, rising a foot daily and increasing for two months to the beginning of October, when it becomes so great that it overflows all its banks and covers the whole land of Egypt, so that it waters trees, meadows and fields. Then, in October, it begins to fall a foot every day for two months, so that in December it is very small, which seemed to me very strange, for all the rivers in our country are full at this time and in August at their lowest. The reason for this I will set down later when I come to the source of the Nile.

Item when, in November, the water has run down, they sow in the mud corn, wheat, oats and other crops. Within a month these are ripe to be cut and are threshed with short straws three spans thick. Item then, about April, they have on the Nile many water mills, which are worked by oxen, and pump the water from the Nile on to the land, with which they water the meadows and fields and do as I have described above. So the crops are ripened twice every year without rain. Item one sees beside the Nile on the banks, lying in the hot sand, great water snakes which on account of the great heat crawl out of the water. They are fifteen or sixteen feet long, more or less, and are called cockatrices or crocodiles.<sup>2</sup> In shape they are like a lizard or dragon with four short feet, a very large mouth, and a most hideous face. The skin is very hard and covered with thick coarse scales, so that it is not possible to wound them with a cross-bow.

<sup>1</sup> Symon Simeonis (p. 34) notes the fruit trees and palms between Alexandria and Fua.

<sup>2</sup> Breydenbach (Davies, plate 42) has a picture of a crocodile, but it is not as fine as von Harff's. There is a good description of a crocodile by Tafur, pp. 69-70.

Further they are some three spans broad across the back with a great rough tail, in this form.



Item it has great force in its tail, so that when asses, mules, camels, and buffaloes come down to drink in the Nile, it seizes them under the water and strikes backwards at their legs with such force with the tail against the animal that it is dragged into the water and devoured, which thing I saw happen to a great buffalo which was dragged into the water, and we did not see it again. Item when the crocodile has eaten and digested the animal, having no fundament, it is forced to eject what remains out of its mouth. Item this creature does not live anywhere but in the Nile, which is very healthy, the water being as sweet as can be found in the round world. Item the sailors here catch many of them on land, when they have crawled out of the main stream when the Nile is in flood. The skins are dried by merchants who bring them to our country to be sold, saying that they are the skins of dragons, which is a lie. When I was in Rome I was shown in the church ad Mariam de Portico<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> S. Maria in Campitelli or in Portico.

large skin of a crocodile hanging in iron chains, and they told me that it was the skin of a dragon, which I believed until I found it to be a lie.

Item from Rosetta to Foya,

40 miles.

We sailed up the Nile when we had good wind, but when the wind was contrary we were towed by horses along the river bank. Item on the way there are eight very pleasant towns, half a German mile from each other, on both sides of the river Nile. They are not walled as with us, but three or four thousand dwellings together, full of people, the houses being covered with earth, since it rains seldom there. Item in these towns there grow many reeds or canes from which sugar is made.<sup>1</sup> They have in each town a large building in which they prepare the sugar in this manner. They cut the cane, which is very sweet, down to the ground, and cut it into little pieces about the length of a finger or less. These they throw it into a great wide stone vessel, in which is a large mill stone for grinding, which oxen turn round on the lower mill stone, so that the stone grinds the sugar quite small. They then take the ground canes and empty them into a great long kettle holding nine or ten pails full, and light a fire underneath, so that it is seethed as they seethe saltpetre in our country, and skim off the top which they pour into tubs or barrels. This is called sugar honey, with which in this country all kinds of food are cooked, since they have no butter, which melts on account of the great heat. What remains at the bottom of the kettle they empty into pointed tubs where they let it cool. This settles and becomes the sugar loaf which is brought to our country in large quantities.

Item the first town we came to is called Berynwall [Berimbal]. Item below it runs a small arm of the Nile on the left hand to Brulis, a good harbour. Item the second town is called Menya [Mahallet?]. Item the third town is called Motobijs [Matûbis]. Item the fourth town is called Deyp [Dibi]. Item the fifth town

<sup>1</sup> Egyptian sugar was famed for its quality. Heyd, II, pp. 688, 690. Leo (p. 869) reports that the people of Darut paid yearly to the Sultan '100,000 peeces of golde, called in their language Saraffi, for their libertie of making and refining thereof'.



is called Defena. Item the sixth is called Daruty [Derût]. Item right opposite lies the seventh town called Schandion. Item one then comes to the eighth town called Maschera, where much sugar is made. These are the eight towns which are very fruitful and pleasant, lying along the Nile close to each other from Rosetta as far as Foya.

Item Foya<sup>1</sup> is a very fine large and pleasant town lying on the left bank of the Nile, having in it many fine heathen churches called mosques. In this town they make much sugar. Item below this town, on the right hand, they have made a canal from the Nile, quite fifty miles long, to the town of Alexandria, so that when the Nile waxes great a large arm of it runs through the canal, watering the whole province of Alexandria.

Item opposite Foya is a little island in the Nile having a dozen mills round about it called Getzera de Heppe,<sup>2</sup> which is to say, in the heathen tongue, an island of gold, from which the Sultan takes yearly 30,000 ducats net, for there grow on this island many canes, from which sugar is made, and many rare fruits.

Item from Foya to Cairo, 300 miles.  
We sailed up the Nile until half-way we came to a large village lying on the right hand called Terrana, where we lay quiet for two days. Five of us landed with my dragoman and went overland southwards, two short German miles, to a great wilderness in which stood many small caves underground, like chapels, wherein lived formerly St. Anthony, St. Paulinus and St. Macharius, and many other hermits, doing penance, and where in many of the caves Greek anchorites or hermits still live.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fua or Fuoah was a prosperous place, with a Venetian consul, and goods were brought there up the now no longer navigable Alexandrian canal. It was a great centre of the sugar industry. Leo, p. 868 and note 912. Heyd (II, p. 438) points out that the canal became unusable during the latter part of the fifteenth century, but von Harff does not say it was navigable, only that it was serviceable for irrigation.

<sup>2</sup> Gezeret ed Debub. See Leo, p. 868, who calls it Gezirat Eddeheb, the Golden Isle.

<sup>3</sup> The desert of Nitria, famous in monastic history as the first place to which the anchorites retired in the early history of Christianity. See Curzon, *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*, ch. VII.

They are called Koluri<sup>1</sup> and wear long grey cloaks and black hoods, and have long grey beards in this manner.



Item we returned to our ship and sailed up the Nile to Cairo. Below this town for ten Italian miles runs a great arm of the Nile on the left hand as far as Damietta, a large heathen town and a good harbour.

Item as soon as we had landed at Cairo we had to send to the great dragoman for a permit before we could disembark, which we soon obtained with the help of my dragoman, who was known there. Item, as we now left the ship and landed, there stood on the wharf a customs house where all our sacks were inspected. The goods inside them had to pay ten per cent. In addition each one had to pay two ducats for permits, but a pilgrim had to pay five ducats.<sup>2</sup> I passed for a merchant, but, if they had known, I should have forfeited life and goods.

Item we were taken in the town to lodge in the house of the principal dragoman wherein we were disposed, two by two in one

<sup>1</sup> Walther (p. 80) calls them Kalorier. The correct name is *καλόγηροι*. At p. 140 v. Harff calls them coleuri. Casola (p. 202) writes 'calogeri'.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Rieter (p. 114).

room.<sup>1</sup> These were holes like pig-sties and nothing inside but bare earth. We had to sleep on this and go out into the streets and buy what was needed for food and buy water from the Nile to drink. Item this dragoman was a Mameluke, that is a renegade Christian, born in Genoa. He had four lawful wives in his house.

Item Cairo is a very large town full of people, but not walled. It lies on the left bank along the Nile.<sup>2</sup> Item this town has three names, the one Babylonia, the other Thayr, which in former times was walled, and in places one can still see remains of the old walls. The third is called Maschera.

Item I found in this town two German Mamelukes, one born in Basel, is called by his Christian name Conrad of Basel. The other was born in Denmark. These two showed me much friendship. They took me into their houses where we drank wine secretly, also at times into the Jews' houses, and to the houses of Christians, called there Syrians, where in the houses we also drank wine secretly, since the heathen drink no wine but only water. But those who are wealthy and the great lords drink water which is flavoured with sugar and costly spices. Item these two German Mamelukes took me through the town to see everything. First they obtained for me from their lord, the Sultan, a free permit, which he gave me in writing<sup>3</sup> to pass through all his countries of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, the Holy Land, the kingdom of Haleb and Greater Armenia, with other countries over which he has rule. Item

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (III, p. 19 ff.) and his companions also lodged with the head dragoman. For the first night they were lodged in a large and stately apartment, where they had to recline against the walls, but the next day they were disposed of in separate rooms. A German goldsmith from Malines tried to persuade them to go to his house, but fear of the dragoman restrained them. Except for noise and the attentions of the ladies they seem to have been fairly comfortable, but Walther (p. 221) was less fortunate, although better treated than v. Harff, who arrived at Cairo during the disturbances following the death of the Sultan Kait-Bey.

<sup>2</sup> Breydenbach (Davies, plate 28) has a view of Cairo, and Walther (p. 228) a plan.

<sup>3</sup> Boldensele (p. 253) also received a special licence from the Sultan. So did Symon Simeonis who gives (pp. 61, 62) an amusing account of the process by which it was obtained. As might be expected it was a question of *baksheesh*. Both Simeonis and Boldensele found the safe conduct more efficacious than did von Harff, for it was received everywhere with respect.

when the Sultan heard that I was come from strange lands, he caused me to come before him and asked me, with the help of the German Mamelukes, if the lord of France was my master, also whether he was strong in men and weapons, and whether he had conquered many countries that year, and what his plans were. I knew, because I had heard, that all countries on the other side of the sea were disturbed because King Charles of France had captured Naples, Apulia, and Calabria the year before, and that he intended this year to march against the heathen countries and take the Holy Land, and that indeed in heathendom and in Turkey, as I had seen, the people were in a great uproar through fear. But I spoke in part lying words and as I had been instructed, saying that I knew nothing of the King of France's business. Thus, as I parted from the Sultan, he gave me a safe conduct through all his countries, which was to my harm, since this Sultan was a youth of sixteen years, the son of the old Sultan Katubee,<sup>1</sup> who had died two years before, so that there was war in the land, since they did not take much account of this youth. For it was never questioned since the time of Joseph, who was sold by his brothers into Egypt, that a Sultan should be a heathen born,<sup>2</sup> and always an elected renegade Christian, in which manner the old Sultan Katubee had ruled well throughout his whole life.<sup>3</sup> Wherefore he was much loved by his lords and subjects. He bade them in his last dying extremity that, after his death, they should make his son Sultan,<sup>4</sup> which happened.

<sup>1</sup> Ghistele (p. 140-141) describes an audience with Kait-Bey, whom he calls Cagettebey, at which the Sultan desired to be informed of affairs in Europe. Ghistele (p. 147) also describes an audience at which the ambassadors of Naples and Cyprus were received. Tafur (p. 75) was also received by the then Sultan. Mandeville (p. 26) describes how strangers were received in audience. Ghistele (p. 141) describes Kait-Bey as a man of middle stature, having a long white beard, well into the seventies, and shewing signs of having been in his youth a graceful, well set-up and powerful man.

<sup>2</sup> Every traveller remarks on the fact that no one could be Sultan who had not been sold as a slave, but in the East slavery was no disgrace. On the contrary it ranked above hired service.

<sup>3</sup> Lane-Poole (History, pp. 342 ff.) gives a less favourable account of Kait-Bey's long reign, but the list of public works, not only in Egypt but in Syria, shows that he spent the revenues on excellent objects. Cp. Weil, v, pp. 327 ff.

<sup>4</sup> At the age of eighty Kait-Bey abdicated in favour of his son Mohammed (full name in Weil, v, p. 360). He became Sultan on 7 August 1496 at the age

After his death the son kept the castle inside Cairo in his power, as he who is Sultan always keeps possession of the castle at Cairo. Item there was however a great army belonging to a Mameluke, called Kamsauwe Hasmansmea,<sup>1</sup> who set him himself up as a Sultan, since he was of opinion that no heathen born should be Sultan. He had in his party some 3,000 Mamelukes with whom he laid siege to the castle for three days, in order to drive out the youth, so that the victor would be Sultan. The war did not concern the country, nor the country the war, only the Mamelukes fought between themselves and those of their party. Item as these had besieged the castle for three days with light artillery, since they have few heavy guns in the country, the young Sultan in the third night, having by means of his father's treasure, which he had left behind, received secretly many people into the castle, broke out with them in early morning and slew many of Kamsauwe Hasmansurea's men, so that he fled away to a town called Gasera. Item as he fled away he killed all those in the town belonging to the young Sultan's party, and withdrew and lay the first night before Cairo in a town called Materya, where the balsam is grown in a beautiful garden belonging to the young Sultan. They pulled up the little bushes on which the balsam grew, and broke down the water wheels with which they used to water the garden, and took the oxen which drove the water wheels, so that they told me, as

of 14 years. He was murdered after a short career of profligacy, cruelty and incapacity on 31 October 1498. Von Harff must have obtained very accurate information as to the dates and events he describes. Sanuto (I, p. 262) quotes a letter dated 26 May 1496 from Alexandria reporting that Kait-Bey was old and ill and that he had sent for his son Mameth and named him Sultan against the law, and had handed over the treasure to him, but the Pashas and Mamelukes were in opposition because the youth was a son of the people, and their laws required that the rule should pass only to a slave who had been bought. A later report from Damascus (22 July) states that the son had been made Sultan, but that he would not reign many days, because he was a son of the people, 'fiol di la zente'. Sanuto, I, p. 288.

<sup>1</sup> This was Kanszuweh Chamsmieh. The fight for the Citadel (February 1497) is described by Weil (v, p. 362). Kanszuweh was wounded but lay hid in Cairo. He again headed a rebellion, but was forced to flee in the direction of Gaza. Here he was attacked by the Emir Akberdi (von Harff calls him 'the Thodar') who was at first defeated, but having rallied his men he attacked Kanszuweh again and routed him. It does not appear that Kanszuweh was killed, as von Harff relates, but he is not heard of again.

indeed I saw with my eyes, that no balsam would grow there for the next ten years.<sup>1</sup> The next day Kamsauwe Hasmansmea withdrew to Gasera. Item, on his way through the wilderness Alhyset, he was met by a great lord of the Mamelukes called the Thodar<sup>2</sup> with a great army, who was intending to march on Cairo and have himself made Sultan, and he knew that this Kamsauw Hasmansmea also wished to be Sultan, but had been unsuccessful. They at once joined battle in the wilderness, and the Thodar slew Kamsauw Hasmansmea with fifty of his great men and many of his servants. Item the Thodar then marched to Cairo and besieged the castle of the young Sultan with intent to make himself Sultan. When he had lain there three days, the young Sultan received by night secretly many people into the castle, who broke out in the morning early, with few men and great cries, and killed many of the Thodar's people, so that he had once again to flee back to Gasera. Item about a month later the Thodar gathered together more than 20,000 men and marched again to Cairo, and besieged the castle for three weeks, attacking, storming and fighting every day, but the young Sultan maintained the upper hand and the Thodar had to flee.<sup>3</sup> Item if the Thodar had had two carthouns or slings with their equipment, as in our country, he could have shot the castle to pieces in two days. Item, when the Thodar fled, the Mamelukes of the young Sultan ran up and down killing all those of the

<sup>1</sup> The destruction of the Balsam Garden (see below p. 127, note 1) is not noticed by Weil, but there can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the story which is confirmed by Sanuto (I, p. 756), who has much to say about the disturbances at Cairo at that time.

<sup>2</sup> The name Thodar crops up again p. 181. Fabri (III, p. 94) speaks of 'Dominus Diodar'. Diodar is probably a corruption of Defterdar, a treasurer. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, 1913, pp. 167, 174.

<sup>3</sup> After the defeat of Kanszuweh, Akberdi returned to Cairo where he was honoured by the young Sultan, but Kanszuweh's supporters rose against him and he fled to upper Egypt. After this the Mamelukes were entirely out of hand. They fought in the streets, and the city was divided into two armed and hostile camps. All trade ceased, and it was in the plundering and disorders which followed that von Harff lost his goods and was taken prisoner. Cp. Weil, v, pp. 365, 366. Sanuto (I, p. 331) refers to the condition of Cairo following Kait-Bey's death and quotes a letter of 4 Sept. 1496 reporting that the streets and bazaars were destroyed and that the Arabs were robbing and wasting the whole country.

Thodar's party and plundering their houses, so that the chief Dragoman, with whom I lodged, who belonged to the Thodar's party, had his house pulled down and his goods taken. They pulled down the room where I lay hidden and seized hold of me with many blows and knocks, and took away all my goods, but in three days they let me go, as they knew well that the young Sultan had given me his safe conduct. But it would take too long to write what they did to me in those three days, as it is not fit for Christian folk; therefore I leave it alone.<sup>1</sup> Item so the young Sultan, the son of Kathubee, obtained in this year the mastery, but how he fared later is unknown to me.

Item the two German Mamelukes took me to the Sultan's castle,<sup>2</sup> so that I could see it thoroughly. I am of opinion that it is larger than Düren, and it lies on a small rocky hill. One has to enter through twelve gates before one comes to the palace itself. Item as one enters the first gate there is on the right hand a large building, in which are many large rooms, wherein the young Mamelukes have thirty-two masters, who teach them writing, reading, fighting with lances, also to defend themselves with the buckler, shooting with the hand-bow at a target, and all kinds of feats of skill. I saw five hundred young Mamelukes in this building, all standing by a wall with outstretched arms as if about to climb the wall on hands and feet. I enquired why they behaved so foolishly, and was told that this was to make their arms and other limbs supple. Item we went through six gates between which live all kinds of craftsmen and people, and those who serve the Sultan daily. Item we proceeded through the

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting passage in a letter from Alexandria quoted by Sanuto (I, p. 637) and written in March 1497 which confirms von Harff's statement about the chief dragoman's house. The writer reports that many Jews' houses were destroyed also the house of the chief dragoman 'although he took precautions to hide his best stuff'. Unfortunately von Harff cannot have been in Cairo in March 1497 (Introd. p. xxxiii). The dragoman's house may have been raided twice or Sanuto may have confused his dates, but it is an odd circumstance.

<sup>2</sup> On the Citadel see Fabri (III, p. 73), who notes the twelve gates and saw the Sultan Kait-Bey seated in state surrounded by his Mamelukes. Symon Simeonis (p 46) reports that the fortress was a large and beautiful building excellently fortified and equipped with workshops and beautified with due imperial magnificence.

seventh gate where we saw, on the left hand, a very beautiful mosque, that is a heathen church, richly adorned, in which the Sultan and his great lords offer prayers daily to the God of heaven and Mahomet their prophet. Item we continued through the eighth gate and came to a great square, where all the Mamelukes and servants of the Sultan, about 16,000 at this time,<sup>1</sup> have to assemble three days in the week at daybreak. There sits the Sultan at a man's height from the ground beneath a tent, with exquisite hangings, on fine carpets, with his feet tucked under him as tailors sit in our country working on their tables. Item there stand by him his two chief men, on the right hand the Armerigo, on the left the Thodar and others of his councillors, stately old and grey men from among the Mamelukes. In this manner the Sultan sits three times in each week giving audience before his Mamelukes, doing justice to all and injustice to none:—in this manner.



<sup>1</sup> Fabri (III, p. 93) gives the number as 30,000, Ghistele (p. 143) about 20,000. Breidenbach gives 22,000. Walther (p. 225) 8,000.



Item we proceeded through the ninth gate where were the Sultan's stables, in which he had some splendid stallions. Item we then went through three gates which were well guarded, and came to his own private chamber, which was exquisitely adorned. Item when we had well seen this palace we went down into the town. On the way we were met, before the palace, by more than 1,000 young blackamoors, who all belonged to the Mamelukes, I asked the two German Mamelukes why all these youths were going to the palace with sacks and boxes. They replied and said: 'Our Lord the Sultan has at present 15,000 Mamelukes who are renegade Christians, of whom 1,000 were killed this year. He gives to these Mamelukes each month six seraphin, that is six ducats. He also provides in the palace for each Mameluke daily a pound of raw meat, a supply of bread [tzweyn wecken pletz] and a quatern of barley for his horse.' In addition they are well paid each month, and the Mameluke youths were fetching all this. Item we saw under the castle or palace southwards many stone arches<sup>1</sup> leading from the Nile to the palace. I was told that these carried lead pipes, through which the water from the Nile was conducted with masterly skill up the hill to the palace. Item they took me south-east up a hill, from which it was possible to overlook the palace and the whole town, so that one saw the design of the town. They told me that the town had a circuit of thirty-six Italian miles.<sup>2</sup> Item one sees also on a hill southwards the Balsam Garden, the course of the Nile, and to the south-west many high towers, three being called *Cassa Faraonis*, which I will describe later. One could see also nearly the whole land of Egypt. Item they say that this hill and castle of the Sultan lie in Arabia, so closely does the land

<sup>1</sup> These aqueducts were built by Saladin and were in use until 1872. Walther, p. 234 and note. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 61; Rieter, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Rieter (p. 114) notes the view. Travellers differ greatly as to the size of Cairo, but all figures are grossly exaggerated. Fabri (III, p. 81) has 3 large German *milliaria* long and 1½ broad. Ghistele (p. 138) compares the city to a pair of spectacles and says that it took twelve hours to ride round it. Rieter (p. 118) says you could ride through the length in four hours, but could not ride round it in eight hours. Fabri (III, p. 81) quotes an authority for stating that Cairo was seven times larger than Paris. One of Walther's companions sent a servant to pace the city who reported that it was 16,464 paces in length and 12,200 paces in breadth. (Walther, p. 226).

of Arabia approach to this town, which lies in the land of Egypt.

Item I will now describe some marvellous things concerning this great town of Cairo, which are almost unbelievable in our country, as the two German Mamelukes carried me from place to place in the town.

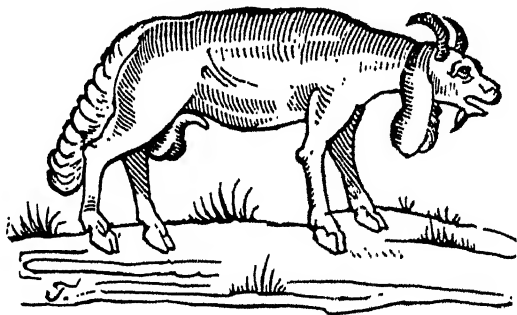
Item in Cairo there are 24,000 lanes or streets, among them twenty-four chief streets. One is two good German miles long. This comes from Materya, where the balsam grows, and goes through the town to the end of Babylonia. Item the other streets are smaller, one-and-a-half German miles long, a German mile long, or half a German mile. There are also many streets among the 24,000 which are quite small. Item each street is closed at night at each end with high gates in case of disturbance from Mamelukes. It is estimated that Cairo has 48,000 gates.<sup>1</sup> Item all the streets have watchmen at night for fear of fire and uproar. It is estimated that there are 24,000 watchmen in the town. Item a cook and two bread-bakers are provided for each street, so that there are in the town 24,000 cooks and 48,000 bread-bakers.<sup>2</sup> Although there are many streets without cooks or bakers, there are countless alleys with a hundred or a hundred-and-fifty cooks. Indeed there is need for many cooks, since the heathen seldom cook in their houses. There is need also for many bakers, for the bread has to be eaten hot from the oven on account of the great heat of the sun, which, within three hours, makes it as hard as stone so that it cannot be eaten. Item these cooks do all their cooking in the streets. Some carry stoves with boiled fowls, peas and other cooked things on their heads through many of the streets. Item these cooks do their cooking with camels' dung, since wood is very scarce in the land<sup>3</sup> and has to be brought from Candia and Cyprus, and it is sold by the

<sup>1</sup> Tucher (Rieter, p. 118) gives 14,000 gates. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri (III, p. 100) gives 12,000 cooks. Tucher (Rieter, p. 117) the same number. Purchas (*Pilgrimage*, p. 653, quoting Baumgarten, 1507-1508, says '10,000 cooks which carry their cookerie and boile it as they goe on their heads'. Cp. Tafur, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Symon Simeonis (p. 39) confirms the shortage of wood for building houses and that it was imported by Christian merchants to the eternal shame and damnation of the latter. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 101.

pound. Item no wood is found in Egypt and Arabia, except date wood, which is a bad wood for building. Item these cooks have great quantities of boiled and roasted fowls. The reason is as follows. There is a jesting remark that there is one cock in Cairo. He has under him twenty-four hens, that each hen breeds twelve times a year, having at each brood three or four dozen chickens together, and that therefore they have to eat so many chickens. And indeed it is true. The cock, which is the Sultan, has his twenty-four hens under him and there are stoves with little holes with round cups in which they lay the eggs. Then the ovens are packed round and round with dung, and they set a slow fire underneath, so that the fire, the hot dung, and the hot air of the country, working together, turn the eggs into chickens in three weeks.<sup>1</sup> I have seen many of these stoves in our country, in Spain, Garnaten (?) and Barbary. Item when these hens are hatched out they are placed together in a small vessel, where they are fed and then sold. I have seen the merchant selling the hens in a measure, pressing them in with both hands as if he were selling wheat: one had its head in the air, another a leg, another two legs, another a wing, so that one got twenty for his measure and another twenty-four. Item the cooks cook generally camels' flesh, which is sweet to the taste, also much sheeps'



<sup>1</sup> The incubators are described by every traveller, e.g. Ludolph, p. 67; Walther, p. 232; Leo, p. 883, and note p. 917; Boldensele, p. 249; Fabri, III, p. 58. Cp. Mandeville, p. 31. Symon Simeonis, p. 55. Sir George Warner in his edition of Mandeville (p. 171) quotes an interesting description by a traveller of 1607 from a MS. in the British Museum. The first Christian writer to mention the incubators seems to have been Jacques de Vitry.

flesh, the animals having long broad tails and very long ears in this manner (p. 110).<sup>1</sup>

Item the common streets in this town of Cairo have to be flooded with water three times every day on account of the great heat and dust, since they are not paved with stone, otherwise the people would stifle in the dust.<sup>2</sup> Item this water and all water used in the houses for washing and drinking has to be brought from the Nile and carried on camels. It was told me as a fact that there were more than 20,000 camels,<sup>3</sup> which did nothing every day but carry water on both sides in goat-skins from the Nile into the town. In addition there are some 10,000 men, who every day and at all hours carry the Nile water on their backs about the streets in goat-skins, and sell it in small pots for a copper penny each, so that the people can wash themselves in the great heat. Item in addition the rich heathen have established a charity for the love of God in many places and streets. Great vessels have been set up there which they keep full of water, from which Christians, Jews and heathen can drink by the grace of God. Otherwise many of the people would suffocate on account of the dust and the great heat.

Item the common streets are full of asses, horses, camels and muels waiting to be hired, so that men and women can ride from one house or street to another on account of the great heat, but Christians and Jews are not suffered to ride in this town, although I rode frequently through the town with the two German Mamelukes, and for this reason I was dressed and rode like them.

Item the houses in this town of Cairo are very ugly outside and badly built, but inside the houses are very fine and beauti-

<sup>1</sup> These sheep are described by Ghistele, p. 187, and by Walther, p. 232. Ghistele says they reached to a man's girdle, with the tail hanging to the ground, broader than a foot.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri, III, p. 102, says '*Tanta est enim hominum et bestiarum deambulatione, quod nemo posset ibi vivere in excitato pulvere, nisi aqua inspissaretur continuis profusionibus*'. Cp. Symon Simeonis (p. 42) who reports that the streets were narrow and dirty and not paved: the principal ones were for the most part crescent-shaped, and were usually so thronged with common people as to be almost impassable.

<sup>3</sup> Fabri (III, p. 102) speaks of 8,000 camels and asses not to be numbered. Walther (p. 226) has 5,000. Ibn Battuta (p. 50) reports a statement that there were 12,000 water-carriers who transported water on camels, and 30,000 hirers of mules and donkeys.

ful, and covered with gold.<sup>1</sup> They are paved with exquisite little marble stones of all colours mixed together and worked with fine histories and flowers, so that you can see yourself reflected in the pavement. In addition they lie upon exquisite carpets or cloths worked with silk. On entering the house one has to put on shoes, slippers or pantoffles on account of the beauty of the pavement. They sit on the carpets, like tailors do with us, and eat and drink, play and talk with each other, all without any great noise. Item they do not sleep on beds but on these carpets. The richer a man is the more he has underneath him. But the common people sleep above on the roofs on mats, or in front of the house on boards. Further, men and women sleep together and only undress so far as to put on white shirts.

Item their sect holds that they may take in marriage six, ten or twenty wives, as many as a man can feed, for by law a man must give each housewife daily three madines, which equal twenty-six to a ducat, for bath money and her evening meal. In the mornings she must eat at his table. In addition he must keep a young black bond-slave to wait on her. Item it is the rule that if a man does not do or give these things and wishes to take more wives than he can feed, the wife appears before the judge and makes complaint against him; then, if the complaint is true, he is beaten immediately, and in addition the wife can part from him, taking with her whatever goods she brought with her. Item therefore the women in heathen parts have more freedom, for the men must pay duty and tribute on cows, asses, horses and all kinds of animals and all merchandise in all towns, villages and places, but not the women. Item a common man has only one wife, but a man with ten or twelve wives must see to it that there are no quarrels among them, a thing which seldom happens, which seems very strange to me.

Item innumerable people in this town live in one house, ten or twelve families. Also in this town there are 30,000 numbered

<sup>1</sup> Symon Simeonis (p. 42) describes the houses as constructed of bricks and mud in their lower part and in their upper of thin boards, branches of palms and canes, cemented with mud. Inside they were marvellously adorned with pictures, and paved with marble and other precious stones. They were kept scrupulously clean and swept out every day or every second day. Cp. Fabri, III, p. 82.

Christians of all sects, not counting Latins. In addition there live in this town 10,000 numbered Jews; each head must pay the sultan three ducats a year.<sup>1</sup> Item the Christians are Greeks, Jacobites, and Syrians, who have their own Patriarch in the town, to whom they owe obedience according to religion, as we do to the Pope at Rome. Each sect of Christians and Jews has its own street in the town, which is locked behind them at night. Item one finds also very rich Christians and Jews in this town, having 30,000 or 40,000 ducats. Item one recognises the Christians, heathen, Turks and Jews by their appearance as is counterfeited here. The Christian wears wound round his head a long blue scarf. The heathen wears a long white scarf wound round his head, beneath which he has on his head a flat stiff paste-board [ghepapt] hat. The Turk wears on his head a long pointed hat round which he winds a long white scarf, and the Jews wear a long yellow scarf wound round their heads. Thus one can recognise these four nations in this town by their dress in this picture.



<sup>1</sup> A Jewish traveller of 1481 (*Jewish Travellers*, p. 166) speaks of 30,000 householders with three or four to a household. Most of the other travellers confine themselves to general statements, a favourite one being that Cairo had a larger population than all Italy. Cp. Fabri (III, p. 103). Breydenbach says much the same. Tudela (1165-73) gives the number of Jews at 7,000 (p. 70).

Item it was told me as a truth that common merchants established in this town of Cairo possessed 30,000 or 40,000 ducats, but many of the richest had more than twice 100,000 ducats, which sounds a lie even though it is true. For of all the silver money, coined and uncoined, which is found and struck in our country, there is sent to heathen countries as much as 300,000 ducats a year.<sup>1</sup> But they send us no money back again, only some spices and silk stuffs. In addition they have also enough silver and gold in their countries which they find in the sand, of which I will write later; although if I were in person with you, reader, I could expound this matter to you more clearly.

Item in this town of Cairo there are many fine and pleasant bathing establishments for men and women separately. These baths have three or four smaller ante-rooms before one comes into the proper bath, each warmer than the others. These bath-rooms are all covered with marble below and on the sides. Further, these bath-rooms are all warmed with hot water, which is heated outside the bath-rooms by camels' dung in great boilers. It is then carried through pipes into the rooms and falls into fine marble vessels [sercke], of which there are many in the rooms. So one can sit in one of them, taking a water bath according to his needs. The steam from the warm water makes the rooms warm. They have in them very good bathing attendants, who lay one down and twist and turn the limbs with all manner of stretchings, whether the limbs are stiff or not, so that the people are more nimble and supple than here in our country. Further, these baths are roofed above with domes of glass, so that when one goes to the bath it is as light as if one were going into the street.

Item it rains very seldom in this town or anywhere in Egypt or Arabia. The people know nothing of rain, thunder, hail or lightning. In addition one hardly ever sees clouds driving in the sky, for there is always great heat.

Item these heathen will not believe that a man can be possessed of a devil. Such a thing is never heard of. If it were, they

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that Sanuto (I, p. 734) mentions precisely this amount as having been transported by the Alexandrian galleys for the year 1497. Cp. Heyd, II, p. 440.

would go mad with fear. Nor will they believe that a soul after death can remain on earth, for they hold that if a man does well he will receive his good reward hereafter, but if he does evil he receives his deserts, and that immediately after death; therefore they do not believe in purgatory.

Item I will also report on their sicknesses. They have commonly the falling sickness. I saw several fall down in their devotions and become unconscious and the bystanders said: 'See the man is unconscious and his spirit is in the hands of Mahomet.' When the man came to himself the bystanders asked him where he had been and what he had seen. Some of them, being evil fellows, replied that they had in the meantime visited Mecca and had been with Mahomet, their prophet, and had spoken with him, but that it was forbidden for him to speak of it. The man is then held to be holy.

Item if anyone wants to help those with the falling sickness he can use the roots which are powerful in those parts. I was asked in my inn to help two heathen. God gave me good fortune that they were cured by purging with the claws of elks [harts-horn?] and with bignonia roots which I always carry with me, for which they showed me great friendship and honour. This came to the notice of the Sultan, who sent to ask me to teach this art, and said that if I would remain there I should receive money and goods enough. I replied that I was servant to a merchant, as I had given out before, and that when I had been to Damascus to my master, a merchant of Venice, and had had speech with him I would return. They tempted me with money and beautiful women who visited me daily, and would gladly have persuaded me. But I continued to make my excuses. Had I agreed I should have broken my safe-conduct, and they would have seized me and made me a Mameluke, to which I would never have consented.

Item I saw among them many sick people, including people with the new sickness called St. Job's plague. Item in addition the pestilence comes into the country every eight or nine years, and it is particularly bad in this town of Cairo, since innumerable people live together and they never avoid each other in such sicknesses. I was told as a fact that five years ago the pestilence



in Cairo lasted three months, and that in the first month there died daily 10,000 to 12,000 persons. This was a small number and so they kept no record of it. The next month there died daily 20,000 to 24,000 persons. Then each morning they had to bring a report to the Sultan, and in the third month 30,000 to 40,000 persons died daily, whereupon the Sultan wept and bewailed that the town would be emptied by death. His servants said: 'Lord: be not troubled, there are still two long streets, of the length of five Lombard miles, in which no person has died.' I was told as a fact that in the three months more than twenty times a hundred thousand persons died there in Cairo.<sup>1</sup>

Item the nights are never shorter than nine hours, therefore the days of St. John's Mass are shorter than in our country. But I leave this aside, since these matters are not understood by common persons. I had an astrolabe by me at all times, so that I could tell the height of the sun in the morning, and the stars and the heavenly axis wherever I might be in foreign countries.

Item in the long street at Cairo, as one goes to the palace, there stands in the middle of the street (which is also thought to be about the centre of the town) a fine and high gate with two high towers, very finely walled, beneath which one has to pass.<sup>2</sup> If a lord or a Mameluke is guilty of crime he is hanged between these two towers so that all can see.

Item now to write something of their beliefs and sects. The Moors, who are called heathen or Saracens, have a great fear of

<sup>1</sup> There was a bad outbreak in 1472 and another in 1492. Fabri (III, p. 103) and Walther (p. 228) give extravagant figures. Weil (v, p. 352) dealing with the 1492 outbreak reports that 12,000 died in one day. There was another outbreak in 1498. Sanuto, I, p. 1071. Ghistele (p. 158) reports that generally 10,000 or 16,000 died daily, not counting women, children, Christians and Jews, and that the plague lasted as long as the sun was in Leo.

<sup>2</sup> This was the Gate of Zuweyla. The executions took place just outside it. Symon Simeonis (p. 48) records that the administration of justice was so elevated that everybody without distinction of rank, age, nationality, or religion was subject to the infliction of the same penalties, capital punishment being inflicted by crucifixion or the sword. Von Harff spares us the gruesome details recorded by Leo, p. 887. Twenty years later the last Mameluke Sultan was hanged there. The rope was still to be seen dangling over the gate in Robert Curzon's time.

God. Young and old, they fall on the ground five times daily towards the east, kissing the ground most reverently, throwing earth over themselves and crying out *ollachrim*,<sup>1</sup> which signifies 'God have mercy on me'. But they add to this *olla alie sydine Machemet*, in which they seem to me to err grossly, for it means 'Lord God, go and greet out prophet Mahomet'. Item they celebrate their Sabbath on Fridays, and everyone goes to their mosques or churches to pray. At the entrance to the churches there are generally fountains standing there. They sit first and wash the member with which they have sinned by day or night, for they think they would otherwise be unworthy to pray to God.<sup>2</sup> When they have done this they proceed to seat themselves on rare mats and carpets, with their feet folded beneath them, as tailors sit in our country, and pray very reverently with much kissing of the ground. The priests sit above to the east, also in the same manner, and sing their service in Moorish, that is in the heathen speech, which sounds very strange, and the priests are very strangely dressed in white with long and high pointed hats on their heads. At the end they exhibit a letter, to which they show great reverence, bowing down to the earth. I was told that in it are written the Ten Commandments which Moses received on Mt. Oreb. Item in these mosques or churches there are no images or wooden idols, nor sculptures nor pictures. But they have many lamps burning in honour of God inside and outside their mosques. Item I was told as a truth, and I have myself counted the most part of them—that in this town of Cairo there are 36,000 numbered mosques or heathen churches.<sup>3</sup> They are fine and large churches with a choir, and with one or two high sculptured towers with three or four galleries above, which the priests ascend daily five times, crying out to announce the time of day, and to give notice of their services,

<sup>1</sup> Should be 'Allah Karim' = God is generous or noble. The next phrase, according to the School of Oriental and African Studies, does not make sense.

<sup>2</sup> Schiltberger (p. 68) has much to say about these services and records that 'when any one has sinned with his wife, he cannot go into the temple until he has washed his whole body'. On these washings and purifications see Sale's Preliminary Discourse to *The Koran*, ed. of 1850, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Walther (p. 226) says 60,000. He tried to count the minarets from a height, but could not reach that number. Fabri (III, p. 81) has 24,000 *moscheae parochiales*, Ghistele (p. 138) about 10,000.

since they have no bells. Further these priests say their services in their churches five times daily. Item these priests have no income of their own, but only what people give them, for the love of God, as they go singing through the streets. These priests have also their schools where they teach the children to write and read Moorish. Item high up on their church towers there is generally a half-moon made of lead or iron. Item the churchyards are all away from the churches outside the town, and are un-walled. When anyone dies his friends dress him up again in his best clothes, sitting him in a chair made for the purpose. Then the next-of-kin approaches and sticks a penny on his cheek. This is then done by all the nearest friends, all singing. Then the priests take the body and lay it on a high bier, taking the money from the cheek, and carrying it thus in its best clothes with uncovered face through the streets to the churchyard. The wives and the next friends follow the bier, crying out with loud voices and shrieking, pulling out their hair and throwing filth and dust from the streets over themselves until they reach the churchyard. Then the priests, still singing, take the body and lay it under the earth. They have ready rare incense which they place on the grave and leave burning. Then the priests and the next-of-kin join hands and dance round the grave, singing with loud voices in their language, which signifies that they are wafting the soul on the incense to their prophet Mahomet, praying him to offer it forthwith to the God of Heaven. Item the wives remain lying on the grave, crying and calling out for three days. Then the next-of-kin come and take them away.<sup>1</sup> They all wear snow-white mourning clothes.

Item the Sultans have built very fine and beautiful mosques outside the town, in which they lie buried, and to which they have presented many ornaments and goods. In one of these mosques there are more than a hundred lamps burning.

Item these Mahomedans drink no wine, which is forbidden by their prophet Mahomet, although there are many who drink wine secretly with Mamelukes and Jews. Since none may keep

<sup>1</sup> Schiltberger (p. 69) reports that when a man dies the priests carry him to the grave singing. Cp. Sandys, p. 55. Lane has a long description of funerals in his *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xxviii.

wine openly upon penalty of death, in accordance with the law, much wine is brought secretly into the town by the Mamelukes from Candia in little barrels covered with linen cloths, for one of which fourteen ducats has to be paid. Item there is a law also that they may not eat pigs' flesh. Item the law also provides that when a man dies, his brother may take his wife. Also when a man's wife dies, the man may take his wife's sister.

Item they allow themselves to be circumcised<sup>1</sup> like the Jews. All Mahometans do this. In addition the females are also circumcised, but this is not done by the Jews. Item they have in their religion no holy day except Friday, which they celebrate as their Sunday, and they eat meat at all times. In October they fast from one new moon to the next, so that during the day they may not eat or drink under penalty of death. But, as soon as the sun has set and the stars shine, they sit down and eat meat and drink and whatever they have, until the stars disappear.

Item it was told me, and I observed it openly, that the Mahometans do not like to injure a cat or suffer it to be injured, out of honour to their prophet Mahomet. It is related that once, when he was seated, a cat laid itself on his cloak to sleep. He did not wish to wake or disturb the cat, and therefore cut off a piece of his cloak and left the cat sleeping.<sup>2</sup> This fantasy they hold generally in their sects from their prophet Mahomet. Once, when I saw a cat lay itself on a Mameluke's cloak as he was seated, I wondered what he would do with the cat. I waited until he rose, and he let the cloak fall from his neck so as not to disturb the cat.

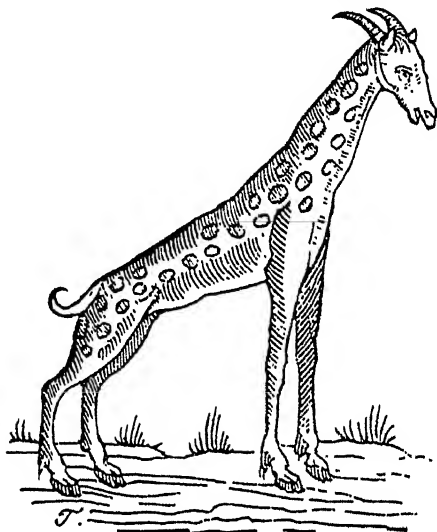
Item I saw many elephants in this town, also many young lions and marmosets and meercats sold for little money. I also saw two very strange animals called giraffes,<sup>3</sup> whose front legs with the knee are quite ten feet high, and the back legs not more than five. It has a very long narrow neck, ten feet long,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Leo, p. 887 and note, p. 919.

<sup>2</sup> Ghistele (p. 241) has the same story but adds that the cat had her kittens on the cloak, and that at Damascus there was a hospital for cats founded in memory of this act. Busbecq (p. 114) repeats the story.

<sup>3</sup> Tafur (p. 79) saw and described a giraffe at Cairo. Cp. Symon Simeonis, p. 50 (*geranfak*); Boldensele, p. 248; Fabri, III, p. 30 (*seraph*); Walther, p. 229 (*seraph*). Cp. Schiltberger, p. 47 and note, p. 169.

with a very small head with two horns on it. It has a divided hoof and a short tail like a camel, and is shown in this picture.



Item, as Joseph was sold by his brothers and came to Egypt to Cairo to King Pharaoh (as the Bible tells us plainly in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis), and this Joseph was such a wise man that after Pharaoh's death he was chosen King or Sultan and ruled the land with great wisdom and in peace, so they keep him in everlasting remembrance. They will have no Sultan who has not first been sold, and this they observe until today, choosing Sultans from the bartered Christians called Mamelukes,<sup>1</sup> who are caught young in Slavonia, Greece, Albania, Circassia, Hungary and Italy, but rarely in Germany, and carried to Cairo and sold there like cows or horses. In fact they govern themselves with wisdom, fighting and waging war, so that they become the Sultan's servants and come daily to great fame.

Item I heard it told as a truth that the old Sultan Cathubie,<sup>2</sup> who died within the last two years, was born in Circassia and

<sup>1</sup> On the rise of the Mamelukes see Lane-Poole, *History*, p. 242 ff; Fabri, III, p. 92 ff; Walther, p. 225; Leo, p. 890.

<sup>2</sup> On his early life see Weil, v, p. 327. Weil does not relate the story told by von Harff, but Kait-Bey was brought from Circassia to Egypt as a slave and sold to the Sultan Bursbai for 50 dinars. Cp. Lane-Poole, *History*, p. 342.

was with his father, a shepherd, his age being then fifteen years. One day he was lying with his sheep (another lad being with him) keeping the sheep, when he fell asleep. When he woke he said to his companion. 'Hear what I have dreamed—that I was a great lord and all the world was subject to me, and you were my chief servant'—with many other fantasies. They sat together and talked thus, when four Mamelukes came riding up and caught them both, and carried them to Cairo, where they were both sold for ten ducats. The one Kathubie comported himself so well in combats, fighting and defence, and showed such wisdom, that he rose daily to higher estate and came at last to be chosen Sultan. He showed his companion great friendship and made him Amarigo of Alexandria. This Sultan Cathubie's brother was a carpenter, and he sent to fetch him and made him a great lord. I saw him with the young Sultan when he was ruling the whole country.

Item no heathen born in the Sultan's country can be a ruler; only the captured renegade Christians, there called Mamelukes, rule the Sultan's country.

One knows a Mameluke by his appearance, which is as follows. He has a white, close-fitting linen dress reaching to the feet. He goes barefoot on two high wooden shoes, on account of the hot sand, and wears on his head a high red hat without a brim, about three spans high, with long wool hanging from it about a span long. Some of the Mamelukes, who are great lords, have long costly white veils wound round the head in this manner.



Item these Mamelukes, when they walk or ride in the streets, have always a large stick in the hand and a sword at their sides. When a heathen, Christian or Jew, or anyone in the street,

comes too near or touches them, they strike him to the earth, so that everyone is forced to give way to them. I have seen a Mameluke driving off more than a hundred heathen in the streets, who did not dare to defend themselves. One never sees a heathen in the street with a knife or weapon, for which reason very few people are killed in the streets, or fall to fighting. Item these Mamelukes go in openly to a heathen's wife, who can make no complaint.<sup>1</sup> These Mamelukes have also very stately stallions or horses which have always to lie in the hot sand without straw or hay.

Item when a Mameluke dies, the Sultan takes his goods and all that he has left behind, and if he has ten children they inherit nothing, for they are heathen born. But if the Sultan is pleased, out of his grace, to give them something, that they may keep.<sup>2</sup> But these children can never come to rule. Item it is said in this country that when an apostate Christian becomes a Mameluke he is forced to deny Christ and his Mother, spit on the Cross, and suffer a cross to be cut on the soles of his feet, in contempt, so that he treads on it. I tell you no, this is not true. When these Mamelukes are first captured in Christian lands they are sold to the heathen. They are then forced to say these words 'Holla, hylla lalla Mahemmet reschur holla':<sup>3</sup> that is in German, 'God is God and shall be so for ever, Mahomet is the true prophet sent from God'. Then they circumcise him and give him a heathen name. When three of us were in prison nothing of this kind was forced on or done to me, as I shall relate afterwards. For I tell you in truth that the heathen know nothing of our Lord Jesus and our blessed Lady, since none may preach of them in this country. But I believe, in truth, that if one could preach in this land the people would soon be converted, since they are very credulous. A few years ago, in this country, in a town called Belbeis, a town in Egypt, a wicked vagrant Jew pretended that he was sent by almighty God to teach the people to keep to the books of Moses, and in order that they should believe in him he showed them by his trickery many miracles. When he invited

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the unedifying story related by Varthema, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri (III, p. 93) reports that there were said to be 30,000 Mamelukes in Cairo, and that the Sultan was the heir of each one of them.

<sup>3</sup> The correct formula is 'La ilaha illa Allah Muhammad rasoul illah' = There is no God but one and Mahomet is the Apostle of God.

his simple neighbours as his guests he broke an egg in a pan and said to them: 'My friends you must bear with me. I can do nothing more unless God helps me.' He had a wooden spoon which was bored through, in which he had four or five eggs concealed, the holes being closed with wax. As he stirred it in the pan the wax melted and the eggs fell into the pan. Whereupon he said: 'See, my good friends, that God will not forsake me'.<sup>1</sup> He had also a tame dove which he had taught to fly on to his shoulder when he ate, which fed from his ears. When this happened in the presence of his good friends, he said: 'See, this is the spirit of God which tells me all that I have to do.' He carried on these rogueries for half-a-year or more, so that many people flocked to him and fell away from the prophet Mahomet. They wanted to give him much money, but he would not take it, on which account he was greatly trusted, and no one bolted the door against him until he stole 10,000 ducats from a rich merchant whom he used often to visit. He made off with this and no one knew where he went. Then the people were ashamed that they had fallen so easily from their faith, and found the spoon, which had been bored through, and also the tame dove in his house, with which he had committed his rogueries. From which it can be seen that the people are credulous and easily to be converted.

Item the women in this town and country are kept very close by their men. When they walk or ride in the street they all have black veils before the face, so that they cannot be recognised. They all know each other and are all dressed alike, girt about with a white dress, but the veil in front of their faces is black. They often deceive their husbands, taking leave to visit the baths. There are in every kind of street mules or asses standing on which they sit, riding beside their menfolk so disguised that their own husbands do not recognise them, and they can ride to

<sup>1</sup> I cannot trace the story of the wooden spoon, but the story of the dove was related of Mahomet himself. It will be found in the *Golden Legend*, vii, p. 112, and in Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), vi, p. 19, where it is related that a clerk of Rome, wishing to make Mahomet a great lord, put some corn in Mahomet's ear and trained a dove to feed on his shoulders, saying that it was the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. Most of the fables about Mahomet, which were current in the Middle Ages in the West, can be found in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, xxiii, 39; M. Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), iii, p. 344; Mandeville and Higden. Cp. Bovenschen, p. 268.



a Mameluke and take their pleasure with him for three or four hours. The women also do great rogueries, however closely they are guarded by their husbands, as I have often seen with my own eyes.

Item it seems to me that there is great contrast in everything between their ways and ours. For instance, the women wear leather trousers with under-skirts, and the men go barefoot. Also the men wear turbans wound round the head, but not the women. Further the women wear a high thing on their heads like a bowl, which is wound about with fine cloths and ornaments, and they walk and ride in the streets as is shown in this picture (p. 125).

Item the thieves who steal in this town of Cairo are never hanged. They are fastened with iron chains, three or four together, and handed over to a heathen who guards them.<sup>1</sup> Each of them is obliged to give daily two or three madines to the Sultan, otherwise in the evening they are all severely beaten by their keepers. In order that they may have the money each evening, they go about the town by day, with difficulty, owing to their chains, begging by the grace of God, or thieving as best they can, so that they may escape a beating in the evening. I was told that in this town of Cairo more than 10,000 thieves go about thus fastened with chains.

Item, although there is no census or counting, there must be a vast number of people in this town. I am clearly of opinion that there are more people in this town than in the two bishoprics of Cologne and Trier. I have given you before<sup>2</sup> certain numbers of person who can be counted, such as 24,000 cooks, 48,000 bread-bakers, and 30,000 who bring water from the Nile daily for the people to drink. Now reckon how many people there must be to eat and drink all this. In addition there are 16,000 numbered Mamelukes, and each Mameluke has at least one servant. Indeed there are many among the Mamelukes who have thirty or forty servants, and among the principal lords those who have two or three hundred servants.

<sup>1</sup> Walther (p. 230) speaks of these chained malefactors. See Fabri, III, p. 39. If Christians they begged in the name of the Virgin, if Jews in the name of the God of Abraham, if Mahometans in the name of Mahomet. They are noted by most travellers of the late fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 109, note 2.

Item there are in this town 30,000 numbered Christian households and more than 10,000 households of Jews, not counting wives, servants and children. There are also in this town 36,000 mosques or churches, each having, taking one with the other, three priests of their religion. All this makes together, without



counting Mamelukes' servants or their wives, three times 100,000 persons more or less. In addition how many more must there be—wives, children, men-servants, maidservants, ordinary citizens, merchants and officials and their wives, children, men- and maidservants?

Item these two Mamelukes took me across the Nile to the three *Kassa Pharaonis*, about five German miles from this town of Cairo. It is necessary to make a wide circuit because of the crooked winding of the Nile. First we travelled from our inn up the Nile through the town of Babylonia. Then we came first to the church called St. George's which belongs to the Georgian Christians. Item I was told that this was the house in which our blessed Lady lived for seven years with our Lord Jesus and Joseph, when they fled from the Holy Land to Egypt. Item we went not far off to four other Christian churches, in which we were shown many relics according to their sects.

Item we went across the Nile to these three *Kassa Pharaonis*. As we approached near to these three towers we saw that they were very strange buildings. We measured the greatest tower on the ground, which is four-square, from one corner to the other, a hundred roods broad and four times as much round. This tower is built of large heavy stones, six or seven feet long, and it narrows as it rises, one stone at a time like steps. We climbed up outside for three full hours to the top, which is about two roods square. From there we saw far out over the whole of the land of Egypt, and over the country to Alexandria and the western sea. It is possible to see this tower on the other side of Alexandria, a hundred Lombard miles out at sea, which is together more than a hundred German miles. When we had rested on this tower and had eaten the food which we had brought with us, we climbed down again. During the descent the Mamelukes shot each of them some twenty arrows from their strong, horn hand-bows or crossbows from off this tower, but they could not shoot on to the ground, for we found the arrows about half way lower down on the tower. They say that King Pharaoh caused the towers to be built during the lean years, and kept them full of corn.<sup>1</sup> That is

<sup>1</sup> Walther (p. 234), Mandeville (p. 35), Tafur (p. 78), Symon Simeonis (p. 51) and other travellers speak of the Pyramids as granaries, a popular view

why they are called the *Kassa Pharaonis*. But I could find no entrance. Some say that they are the tombs of the old kings of Egypt.

Item they carried me the next day eastwards outside Cairo, five Lombard miles, to a little village called Materya, to see the balsam garden which at this time was wholly destroyed, as I have written above.<sup>1</sup> We saw a number of little bushes as long as an arm, like young birches, which had been pulled up and were lying on the ground, of which I brought many away with me. They showed me how the balsam grows on them. They cut off the points in May and collect the cuttings on the ground in a pot or glass into which the balsam drops.<sup>2</sup> They do this three times. The first is not as good as the second, the second is not so good as the third, and the third is the best of all. The Sultan has to send this every year as a present to the four great lords of the earth, to the great Emperor of Turkey, the great Khan of Cathay, the great Usay Kassar, lord of Tartary, and the great lord Loblin, lord of India, whom we call Prester John.

The garden was at this time wholly destroyed so that it is said no balsam will grow there for the next ten years. This balsam which was at least as old as Gregory of Tours, but Fabri (III, pp. 42 ff.) and Boldensele (p. 252) reject the story. Cp. Ludolph, p. 72. Tafur goes so far as to describe how the beasts climbed up a circular stairway and were unloaded through windows until the granaries were filled to the top!

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 104. The balsam garden at Matarea, a little north of Cairo, was visited by every traveller. It was said that the plant was procured by Cleopatra for her garden at Babylon from Jericho, where it was formerly propagated from a root given by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. There is an excellent account in Heyd, II, pp. 576 ff. The best descriptions known to me are by Symon Simeonis, p. 48, and Ludolph, pp. 68 ff. (who drew his information from Germans who were among the Christian guardians). Fabri (III, pp. 13 ff.) describes how the balsam is taken. According to him the first was the best, not the last as von Harff tells us. Cp. Walther, p. 219; Boldensele, p. 250; Rieter, pp. 112, 145; Mandeville, p. 34. Tafur (p. 77) has an interesting description. Students wishing to go further into the history of this famous garden should refer to Bovenschen's study of Mandeville, p. 231, and Sir George Warner's edition of Mandeville, p. 172. It is interesting to observe that von Harff's account of the destruction of the garden is confirmed by Sanuto (I, p. 756), quoting a letter from Alexandria dated 14 July 1497. Later travellers describe it as completely destroyed, Heyd, II, p. 578. Wedel in 1578 (p. 148) could see no trees, and when Kiechel was there in 1586 there were only two small trees which were decayed, with the leaves mostly torn off (p. 364).

<sup>2</sup> 'man kroemet dat loetgen off die erde in eynen pot ader gelas. Dan druyfft balsam dar yn.'

grows in no part of the earth only in this place so far as I have heard.

Item the village of Materya does not lie on the river Nile, but when the Nile waxes it runs by the village. Otherwise the Nile flows about one-and-a-half German miles away.

Item I asked these two German Mamelukes why their lord, the Sultan, calls himself lord of the whole world, as men say in our country. They answered and said that their lord calls himself lord from sunrise to sunset, therefore lord of all the world. But this seemed to me to be absurd, and I told them that we Latin Christians, the Christians in India, the great Turkish emperor, also [the ruler of] Barbary, were not subject to the Sultan. Then one of the Mamelukes, Conrad of Basel, answered me: 'I am nearly sixty years old and have been sold seven times from one country to another, so that I have travelled through a large part of the world, in which I have found only three beliefs, Christian, Mahometan and Jewish. The Christians are ten sects, not one believing as another—Latins, Greeks, Indians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Moramites, Armenians, Georgians, Syrians and Masorabites. These Christians all believe in Christ who was martyred and hung on the gallows of the holy Cross at Jerusalem. Otherwise they differ greatly in other matters of belief. All these ten nations of Christians seek Jesus, their Saviour, in Jerusalem, which city is owned by the Sultan. We must come there and fall at the feet of this lord paying much tribute in order to obtain leave to visit the holy city of Jesus Christ. Therefore, we Christians must acknowledge him as lord and pay tribute. Further there were three kinds of Mahometans in the world, not one agreeing with the other in belief. These are Turkish, Egyptians and those of Barbary, all believing in Mahomet. These Mahometans have to come from all countries to fall on their knees, paying great tribute to their lord, the Sultan, if they wish to seek Mahomet, whom they accept as their Saviour, in a town called Mecca, which town our Lord the Sultan has in his power and rules. Further the Jews are of three kinds, each differing from the other in belief. One sect believes only in the five Books of Moses. They are called Sadducees. Others believe what Moses with other prophets, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and others have laid

down. They are called Genegystey. The third sect sets up each sabbath a calf on the altar and prays to it in honour of him who made it. These are called Pharisees. All three nations of Jews live in this town of Cairo, each by themselves in long streets, hating each other greatly.<sup>1</sup> But these Jews all believe in Moses and hope to recover the Promised Land, which is Jerusalem, which also is possessed by the Sultan, also the Mount of Moses, on which the Ten Commandments were given to him by God. When these Jews seek this mountain and Jerusalem they have to fall at the feet of our lord, the Sultan, and pay great tribute. Therefore [believers in] these three chief faiths must come from all over the world and seek their Saviour under the sovereignty of our lord, the Sultan, falling at his feet, paying heavy tribute, for which reason our lord Sultan calls himself lord of the whole world from sunrise to sunset.<sup>3</sup>

Item these heathens, called Saracens, use Arab or Moorish speech, which sounds in and is spoken in the throat, of which I have retained some words which are written here.<sup>2</sup>

Item.

Kolps,	bread
moya,	water
inhibit,	wine
alleham,	meat
syet,	oily
mele,	salt
sammack,	fish

<sup>1</sup> The sects were the Rabbanites, who inherited the traditions of the Pharisees, which cannot have included image-worship, and a minority of Karites, who might be equated with the Sadducees. Genegystey is not understood. I am indebted for this note to Mr. Cecil Roth.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Mandeville, p. 96, who reports that they speak in their throats. I am informed that the vocabulary is reasonably correct. Transcription is apparently rather wild, Kolps. Khubz = bread, is no longer used in Egypt. Meskita = church, looks like a literary tradition. Tyeff = strong, is probably a mistake for weak. My thanks are due to the School of Oriental and African Studies for assistance here. The Arabic alphabet is practically identical with that in Breydenbach (Davies, pl. 39). The alphabet is plainly recognisable, though the order is wrong. The names of the letters are freakish. See article by H. Stumme in "Festschrift Ernst Windisch dargebracht," Leipzig, 1914, pp. 127-137. Cp. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Band 69 (1915), p. 208, and Band 73 (1920), p. 199.

schall,	vinegar
bayet,	eggs
aesch,	a goose
gayr,	good
oisch,	bad
farras,	a horse
gammar,	an ass
schymel,	a camel
medina,	a town
bledine,	a village
Elkotz,	Jerusalem
mërkep,	a ship
meleck,	a king
arap,	a lord
rabbo,	a peasant-woman
villach,	a husbandman
ganeme,	a sheep
dyck,	a cock
tefese,	a hen
kelp,	a dog
gehen,	ill
caper,	a count
meskita,	a church
tzenma,	paradise
olla,	God
tzagittan,	the devil
getzera,	an island
beyt,	a house
schamma,	a candle
sabin,	a friend
rasel,	a man
mele,	a woman
acktzello,	washing
ede,	bag
camijss,	a shirt
sckyne,	drink
kalo,	eat
schou,	little

maytix,	no
jaatila,	yes
ena,	I
acha,	a master
tyeff,	strong
tale,	come here
thayer,	a bird
addes,	lentils
hellie,	peas
thyne,	wheat
enep,	a druue? a cheat
ducaet,	a ducat
fluyss,	money
helm,	sweet
mor,	bitter
ckayesch,	beautiful
vd,	wood
nem,	sleep
nyco,	marry
marrat nyco,	woman shall I sleep with you?
marca beba,	you are very welcome
saba olchayr,	good morning
missa olchayr,	good evening
kater ollacharack,	God thank you
albahar mele,	the salt sea
ena kilemtu,	I told it to them
mantzeman,	soon
este te lopente,	what do you want?
ena ystere,	I want to buy that
bequem,	how much does it cost?
manserym,	will you eat?
inte roch nem,	I will go to bed
sta foir olla,	to God be thanks
olla krym,	God have mercy on me
elham durylle,	God be praised in eternity
hebat olla,	God give us good wind
olla salenneck,	God greet you
a tzismo ede,	what is that called?



## Numbers

hohayet,	one	sabatasch,	seventeen
hatini,	two	temantasch,	eighteen
telette,	three	tystasch,	nineteen
harba,	four	acharin,	twenty
kamptze,	five	woheyt tassarim,	twenty-one
tzette,	six	atnentascerim,	twenty-two
saba,	seven	tela tetascerim,	twenty-three
themini,	eight	harba tascrim,	twenty-four
teschera,	nine	camptascerim,	twenty-five
aschera,	ten	settascrim,	twenty-six
woheytasch,	eleven	sabatascerim,	twenty-seven
tementasch,	twelve	tementascerim,	twenty-eight
telatasch,	thirteen	tesschatascerim,	twenty-nine
arbatasch,	fourteen	talatin,	thirty
camptasch,	fifteen	ine,	hundred
settetasch,	sixteen	elfft,	thousand

Item these Saracens speak Arabic and use Arabic letters in their writings, which alphabet is correctly written below (p. 133).

After I had spent some time at Cairo there arrived a powerful lord from Jerusalem, an ambassador from the great ruler of India to Cairo, with about a hundred persons, having completed his pilgrimage. The young Sultan, Kathubee's son, had provided him with a costly escort and received him most honourably. I saw him also in the Sultan's palace, when this ambassador stood above the Sultan. Now this lord was preparing for his return home, but desired first to seek the body of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The journey to Mt. Sinai was a very trying one and it was said that no pilgrim made the journey twice. Von Harff's narrative is certainly dramatic and at times gruesome. The travellers usually set out from Gaza and returned to Cairo. Röhrich (p. 23) gives a form of contract for the journey there and back, but this was made with the dragoman. Von Harff made his contract direct with the camel-drivers. The journey took usually 14 or 15 days, but von Harff accomplished it from Cairo in 10½ days. Boldensele (p. 252) took 10 days, 3 of which were spent along the Red Sea, but he made the journey on horseback, which had apparently never been done before—at least that is what the monks said, but the food and water were carried on camels. Ludolph (p. 82) took 12 days, but seems to have spent 6 before he reached the Red Sea. Tafur (p. 82) took 12 days. Von Harff's journey is described, and the various stopping places are identified, by Korth, pp. 203 ff.

dal

gtzym

dal

tech

rech

te

heyeh

be

aleph

ayn

dach

ta

cdachua

sad

schin

schzm

zayn

re

hehe

nun

mym

lam

layn

caph

kabh

ffea

saym

wolstu  
lam pax

ye lamaseph dean

When I heard this I arranged with my dragoman that he should announce me to this lord, which happened. The lord suffered me to be brought before him and caused me to be asked if I was a Christian. I said yes. He then required me to make a cross and kiss it, which I did. He then caused me to be told that he would show me his friendship on the way, and would carry me to his master, who would receive me honorably and show me many favours. He also asked me how far I was ready to travel. I made answer, to Mt. Sinai, and if I could proceed further I would gladly seek the body of St. Thomas the Apostle. He replied that I could do this in about half a year, and that, if I travelled with him, it would be some ten days journey from his home to the kingdom of Mackeron, where St. Thomas lay in person, and that he would procure and cause me to be given safe-conducts throughout his master's dominions, which happened. I then took leave of this lord and went at once with my dragoman, three pilgrims, and two merchants of Genoa and sought camel-drivers, called here mokarij, and each of us procured one. I bargained with a mokarij, as did the others, that he would carry me on a camel to the monastery on Mt. Sinai. We made a contract in writing with the help of two heathen magistrates in their language, which reads in the German language as follows.

I N. Mokarij will carry N., this Frank (so they call us who come from our countries) from here in Cairo to the monastery lying below Mt. Sinai on a good camel, on which he shall sit on one side in a wooden box covered with a thick pelt and carrying on the other side his provisions and the camel's food. I shall carry also for him two udders, namely goat-skins, full of water for him, myself and the camel. In addition I will assist him to get on and off the camel, and will stay by him by day and night and attend to his welfare. This Frank N. is to give me two seraphin, namely two ducats, one at Cairo and the other when we reach the monastery below Mt. Sinai.

They gave me this letter as a certificate concerning these things. But anyone who does not give also secret presents, which are called in their language courtesies, by the way and share his

provisions with him, will have to suffer insults and hardships. But if you produce ten or twelve ducats, and give them as courtesies, then they stand loyally by you, as happened often to me on the journey. For often, when the wild Arabs charged at us in the wilderness with loud cries, as if they would strike us dead, demanding courtesies, which are tributes or presents, then my mokarij stood by me faithfully ready to answer with blows or battle, for he was himself a wild Arab.

When I had received the letter I prepared myself with all things necessary for journeying through the wilderness, and bought myself for two ducats a wooden chest covered with coarse pelt on account of the great heat of the sun, also, for a ducat, white biscuit, that is twice-baked bread, also, for half a ducat, white cheese which is brought from Candia, also a measure of meal in order to bake round cakes in the sand, and a goat-skin to carry water, for which I paid half a ducat.

Item in this manner, as is shown below, I sat in a box on one



side of the camel, and on the other side, on account of the heat, were the goat-skins full of water, wheat, meal, biscuit, and other provender for me and the camel. The camel has this

nature that it falls down on its knees and lowers itself on its belly to be loaded. When it is loaded it raises itself carefully, first on the front and then on the back legs, and goes on its way, not running or pressing, but with a smooth, even gait, as quickly as a man can walk fast. When it comes to the place where it is to stop the heathen cries to it, and it falls on its knee, lowers itself on its belly, and suffers itself to be unloaded and stays there, sitting and resting, but does not lie down on its side. In addition when, as often happens, there is scarcity of water in the deserts of Arabia, this creature goes five or six days long without drinking, and is satisfied each day with a handful of sesame, when need requires.

Item we started from Cairo the first day of the new moon<sup>1</sup> in July with a large caravan, which is a company of three or four hundred people, who set out together each month at the new moon to the Red Sea, to a place called Thor,<sup>2</sup> three and a half days' journey from St. Catherine's, and fetch from there the spices which arrive from Lesser India called Abyssinia. These are carried on camels through the deserts of Arabia to Cairo. With us went the embassy of the great lord from India, so that we were some five hundred strong. We travelled the first day through the wilderness of Arabia, south-east across a level sandy district called Koass, where no leaf or grass grows, and there is no water. Here we stopped for the night in the sand, and fed on what we had with us. Item the next day, two hours before dawn, we crossed a sandy district called Maffra. On the way some six hundred Arabs descended on us with intent to spoil us. These are rough, blackish, hard people. They have no houses except tents, which they carry always with them in the desert, together with their camels, asses, sheep, goats, wives and children. They have beautiful little horses, which have to lie down daily in the hot sand, and they ride with bare legs and feet in the stirrups. They carry in their hands a javelin, which is a long, hollow tube having a long iron point, and ride in this manner (p. 137).

Item from Cairo to St. Catherine's monastery there is nothing but desert, in which no human being can live on account of

<sup>1</sup> Korth (p. 202) gives this date as 4 July 1497; Seydlitz (p. 6) as 2 July.

<sup>2</sup> On Thor, see below p. 149.



the great heat of the sun. We found no village or town there, neither house nor dwelling, neither field nor garden, tree or grass, nothing but barren, sandy earth burnt by the great heat of the sun, and many arid mountains and valleys, which were dreadful to see. Item we saw often in the wilderness a great smoke rising, which we thought came from fire, but as we approached we saw that it was a cloud of light sand raised by the wind and driven here and there from one place to another, which in a short time became high hills. Where to-day there was an open way, tomorrow there would be a great hill of light sand, driven by the wind into a heap.<sup>1</sup>

Item on the third day we proceeded through the wilderness until, at mid-day, we came to the Red Sea to a ruined house. By this there was a well, but it was salty. Here we took our wine-skins or goat-skins<sup>2</sup> and filled them once more with water, and rode that evening to a stony place called Hanadam, where we

<sup>1</sup> Most travellers remark on the sand-storms, which frightened them badly. Cp. Fabri, II, p. 469 and Ludolph, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Von Harff uses the word *udre*. Cp. Rieter, p. 90 (*uder*). It comes from the Italian *otre*, wine-skin.

spent the night lying in the sand. By this time we had eaten all our biscuit, which is twice-baked bread, except what had been asked for by the wild Arabs or stolen or given to them. We had with us large bowls in which we placed meal, pouring on it the stinking water from the goat-skins, kneeding it together with our hands and making cakes from it. Then we placed them on camels' dung, which we had gathered together, and lit it in the ashes and hot sand, so that the cakes were soon cooked. This was our food, and foul, stinking water<sup>1</sup> from the goat-skins was our drink.

Item the fourth, fifth and sixth days we continued through a stony wilderness, with the Red Sea on the left hand, and came to rest in the evening in a place where two ways part, one on the right, and the other on the left to the monastery of St. Catherine. In these three days there died many heathen, wild Arabs and camels through suffocation by the great heat. To my grief there died also two brothers from the great heat and lack of water, whom we had to leave half-alive lying in the sand, which was most pitiful to see. For the caravan, that is the assembly of many sects of the people who travel together, elect one to be leader and head-man and obey him. He knows how to find each night a camp in the desert, where on the third, fourth and fifth days water can be obtained. If anyone is ill, or from weakness is unable to go on and prefers to die, then the company has to leave him lying alone, and press on on account of the water, which lasts only one day, otherwise all would die, as well as the camels, for lack of water. If in a caravan of a hundred persons ninety-nine die, the one left must press on each day to the water, otherwise he would die as well. Item we came across each day many dead persons and camels lying exposed in the sand, all suffocated by the great heat of the sun: in truth more than fifty persons and some six hundred camels were lying there, which was terrible to see. One had lost his nose, mouth or eyes from wild birds and animals, another a leg, others an arm and some had

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 497) found the water out of the water-skins exceedingly loathsome. It took on a colour like blood, got a salt smack from the leather and lost all its pleasant qualities. Yet, in spite of all this, when the bottles were empty, they counted it a luxury to suck the foul water from the stinking skin.

been devoured. When the wild Arabs saw them from a long way off they raced forward, as for a wager, to see who could reach them first, to see whether there was any money, pushing and pulling the bodies this way and that, but leaving them there, without pity, unburied.

Item the seventh day early we parted from those who were to fetch spices from 'Thor on the Red Sea, and struck left to a sandy plain called Enaspe, where we spent the night and experienced there those things which I have already described. Item there is no made path in the desert, as it is covered by the light sand blown together by the wind, so that they travel by the lie of the land, having certain marks, such as the legs of dead camels which are gathered in great heaps, which are very white so that they can be seen from a distance. At night they travel by a bright star,<sup>1</sup> which rises always two hours before dawn between east and south. Item our Arabs found beside the hills some blocks of salt, which they dug up for us, and it was good salt for cooking and looked like purified saltpetre or salammoniack.

Item the eighth day we proceeded through many stony mountains and lay at night in a place called Mackera.

Item the ninth day we crossed a very stony mountain to a plain, where we lay at night beneath a high mountain.

Item the tenth day we climbed the mountain with much trouble, as the camels could not carry us up the steep ascents, and we had to walk. When we reached the top of the mountain we saw St. Catherine's monastery lying before us in a valley, at which we praised God, and arrived about nine o'clock before noon at the monastery.

Item we had completed the way from Cairo to St. Catherine's monastery in ten and a half days' journey, through many Arabian deserts in which we saw nothing, neither leaf nor grass, nor anything created by God, except sand and sky. We found water four times by the way. The distance must be about seventy German miles.

<sup>1</sup> The star was known as St. Catherine's star and is mentioned by many travellers. It was thought to be Venus (cp. Walther, p. 194, and Rieter, p. 95), but Walther's editor has a long note to prove that it was Sirius. See Fabri, II, p. 491.



Item when we arrived at the monastery of St. Catherine<sup>1</sup> the brothers came to meet us and received us very well, and rejoiced that they could see once again Christians from our country. They told us that for the last ten years no Christian pilgrim<sup>2</sup> had been there from Latin countries. Item the monastery lies on a high mountain, nevertheless in a kind of valley between very high rocks. When one stands in the monastery and looks upwards it seems as if the mountains round about would fall on it. It is a very small but strong monastery, surrounded by a high four-square wall, with towers, on account of the wild Arabs who threaten it daily. For this reason they have no large gates in the monastery, but only three small and low doors covered with iron plates, one in front of the other, so that one has to creep through.

Item in this monastery the monks are from Greece. They are called *coleuri*<sup>3</sup> and are clad in a long grey cloak and a black embroidered scapular in front, and follow St. Basil's rule. They live very poorly, as all round them is desert. All the bread which they eat has to be brought on camels from Cairo, with rice and peas which they make into a mess. That is their food, and they drink water with it. They have also in front of their monastery in a garden certain sweet fruits, which they enjoy in their season. They also eat and live on manna, which is heavenly dew.<sup>4</sup> This falls each year in August and September, with a dew in the high mountains round about, some six miles away from the monastery, and nowhere else on earth, so far as I have ascertained. The dew runs off the rocks and forms a heap, and resembles newly-made wax: it is very sweet to the taste and melts in the mouth

<sup>1</sup> This famous monastery at the foot of Jebel Músá (view in Breydenbach, Davies, pl. 28), including within its walls the church of the Virgin or the Transfiguration, is said to have been built by Justinian. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1841, I, p. 184 f. Ghistele (p. 196) notes two small doors with iron plates.

<sup>2</sup> For some reason there was a falling off in the number of pilgrims in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, but the monks had a German visitor in 1495, Wolf von Zülhart (Röhricht-Meisner, p. 313).

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Fabri (II, p. 544) 'ate much of it and found it of an exceeding pleasant savour, but it fell short of the miraculous manna, for natural manna was only found in August and September, whereas the miraculous manna was found every morning, wheresoever God's people sojourned'. Cp. Heyd, II, p. 633; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, I, p. 170.

like sugar. These monks never taste meat, and live a poor god-forsaken life, for they have no fixed income, except what the Christians, Greeks and centuriani give them for the love of God. The old king Louis of France used to send them each year 2,000 ducats, which King Charles keeps back. There are therefore now no more than eight brothers,<sup>1</sup> but in King Louis' time there were some two hundred. These brothers have all long beards and go about in this manner.

(in another later hand: 'the Greek monks are pictured above': [probably p. 101])



Item in this monastery there is a fine church,<sup>2</sup> roofed with lead, and one goes up twelve steps to the church. Below it is paved with exquisite little marble-stones joined together, adorned with ancient histories. In this church there hang countless burning lamps fed with nothing but olive oil. There are also in this church twelve stone pillars, six on each side, in which are en-

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 616) says there were scarce 30 in his time (1480-1483) and they were blind to the truth. (p. Ghistele, 1481-1485 (p. 198)—about 40; Walther (p. 202)—30. In Ludolph's time (1350) there were 400 monks (p. 85).

<sup>2</sup> The fullest description known to me is by Fabri, II, p. 599 ff. Cp. Walther, p. 203; Von Harff tells us nothing new.

closed many relics; they are hung with the names and painted pictures of many holy martyrs, whose names are not known to us. Each month the brothers honour one of these pillars on account of the relics, so that each year one of the pillars is honoured each month. Item they have their altars in our manner, and the high altar is dedicated to the Emperor Constantine and St. Helena, his mother, and to the right of the high altar, beneath an arch, a man's height from the ground, is a small marble coffin three spans and about three fingers long and one and a half broad, with a cover which is carved with pictures. The coffin is about two spans high. In this coffin there lies, at the top, the true head of the virgin St. Catherine and certain limbs of her holy body laid together,<sup>1</sup> which the chief guardian, with a stately procession of the brothers, lifted up and allowed us to kiss and touch with our jewels. In addition he gave us some of the cotton which lay by the holy limbs, which had a fragrant smell beyond measure. At this coffin is plenary indulgence and forgiveness of all sins, both penalty and guilt. Item, to the right of the coffin, one goes into a chapel which is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, wherein are many relics of forty holy brothers. Here are seven years indulgence and seven quarantines. Item on the left of this chapel one goes into another chapel behind the high altar, called the chapel of S. Marie de Rubro. Here one enters with uncovered head and bare feet, for where the altar stands was formerly the Burning Bush<sup>2</sup> which was not consumed, from which God spake to Moses and bade him take off his shoes. Here is plenary indulgence from penalty and guilt. Item on the left hand one goes out of this chapel into another, which is dedicated to the apostle St. James the Less. Here are seven years' indulgence

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 601) reports that the greater part of the sacred body was still there—the entire head covered with a golden crown adorned with many gems, the left hand, whose fingers were covered with costly rings set with precious stones, also ribs, shin-bones and many other members lying in the coffin. Cp. Ghistele, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> The chapel of the Burning Bush is at the east end of the church behind the central apse, the actual spot where the Bush grew being covered with silver. Robinson, I, p. 144. Von Harff does not claim to have seen the Bush, but in an itinerary of c. 1150 it is stated that traces of it remained. De Vogüé, *Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, 1860, p. 418. Thietmar *Peregrinatio* (1217) ed. Laurent, 1857, p. 42, says it had been carried away by relic-hunters.

and seven quarantines. Item beyond this, on the left, is a chapel to St. Antipitus. Here are seven years' indulgence and seven quarantines. Item close by is a chapel in honour of St. Herine, a virgin. Here are seven years' indulgence and as many quarantines. Item on the right hand is a chapel in honour of St. Marine, the virgin. Here are seven years' indulgence and as many quarantines. Item close by is a chapel to St. Salvatoir, where are also seven years' indulgence and as many quarantines. Item close by is a chapel in honour of our blessed Lady, where are seven years' indulgence and as many quarantines.

Item in this monastery is a mosque,<sup>1</sup> that is a heathen church, wherein sometimes the heathen come to pray when they make their pilgrimage in their own manner to the holy places, since Moses performed many miracles there.

Item in this monastery, behind the high altar, is a pleasant spring, by which Moses often herded and pastured his sheep and set and planted there many rare trees, one of which still bears rare fruit. Item outside the monastery, as one leaves it on the right hand to the north, is a spring by which the Jews set up the calf and prayed and danced round it, and forgot the commandment of Moses, which, when Moses descended from Mt. Oreb and saw, he was wrath and cast down the tablet of the Ten Commandments against a rock, so that it broke. The rock stands hard by this spring. Item not far from hence the monks have a pleasant garden in which are many rare fruits. In it is a spring which Moses cursed on account of their idolatry, so that whosoever should drink from it should die. Item not far from this monastery is the brothers' churchyard.<sup>2</sup> In this, as is recorded in the monastery, the brothers have been buried from the commencement of the order, and more than 9,000 are buried there.

Item when we had spent three days seeing everything, we desired to visit the grave of the holy virgin St. Catherine on

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 614) describes it as a large square building with a tall tower adjoining it, 'on which they shout their praises of Mahomet after their fashion'. He found therein 'no grace, no religion, no indulgences, but only an empty house with whitewashed walls'. It still stands although now dilapidated. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 5th ed., p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> On the charnel-house, see Robinson, I, p. 146.

Mt. Sinai, also Moses' mountain which is called Mt. Oreb.<sup>1</sup> We took with us two brothers to show us everything, and provisions for two days. Item first, about a gunshot from the monastery, we climbed the mountain Oreb on steep stones made like steps, some 1,200 steps high. Here we found a pleasant spring beneath a rock, called Moses' spring. Here God appeared to Moses in a dark cloud and he heard great noise and thunder. Item we climbed higher by 1,800 steep steps. There we found on the left hand a small chapel to our blessed Lady. This is where in the old days she appeared to the monks who had fled from the monastery because of evil, poisonous creatures there, of which there were very many, and our blessed Lady, acknowledging their praise and prayers, spoke to the brothers: 'go down again to the monastery, no poisonous creatures shall harm you more.'<sup>2</sup> And they caused the chapel to be built there in honour of our blessed Lady. Item we climbed further up a stony staircase three hundred steps high, through an entrance cut between two rocks, to a small level place. We found there another hewn gate before we reached the place. Item this place is said to be a hundred acres in extent, lying between high mountains. On this place there is a beautiful little church called St. Helias' church.<sup>3</sup> This church has a low, small entrance. On the left as one enters,

<sup>1</sup> Travellers at this time seem to have regarded Mt. Sinai and Mt. Horeb as two separate mountains, for which there is no authority in Holy Writ. Fabri (II, p. 550) speaks of the lower part of the mountain, as far as Elijah's chapel, as Mt. Sinai, and the higher as Mt. Horeb, but sometimes the whole mountain is called Horeb. 'The most obvious and common explanation is to regard one (Sinai) as the general name for the whole cluster, and the other (Horeb) as designating a particular mountain.' Robinson, I, p. 177. St. Catherine's grave is on Jebel Katherin. See below p. 146, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, II, p. 551. The story of the poisonous creatures is told by Mandeville (p. 41) who got it from Boldensele (p. 255). Ludolph (p. 87) speaks of the special grace whereby unclean creatures such as flies, wasps, hornets, fleas and the like could not live there nor enter the walls of the convent. Boldensele professes to have seen them die when brought into the monastery, but, so far as fleas were concerned, the charm seemed to have lost its effect when Dr. Robinson was there. *Biblical Researches*, I, p. 151. Ghistele (p. 200) reports that lice and worms were still to be found in the heathen mosque.

<sup>3</sup> Fabri (II, p. 554) speaks of three chapels, all joined together, enclosed within one wall, the first was the chapel of St. Marina, the second the chapel of Elisha, the third the chapel of Elijah. The story of St. Marina is told in the *Golden Legend*, III, p. 227.

beside the high altar which is dedicated to the prophet St. Helyseus, is a chapel dedicated to St. Marine. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. On the right hand is a chapel in honour of St. Helias the prophet. Behind the altar is a hole in the rock into which one has to creep, wherein St. Helias lay many years doing penance. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item behind this hole eastwards, outside the church, is a broad high rock in which a raven sat continually, which by God's grace brought food to St. Helias.

Item this church stands at the foot of the real Mt. Oreb which we climbed on great stony rocks, the rock being laid in steps, some 2,000 steps high to the top of Mt. Oreb,<sup>1</sup> so that from the monastery of St. Catherine I reckon the height to the top of Oreb to be 7,000 steps, a step reckoned as a foot.<sup>2</sup> Item this mountain called Oreb or Moses' Mountain is very narrow at the top. On it stands a beautiful little church, called after St. Salvatoir,<sup>3</sup> enclosed with iron doors, because of the wild Arabs. We went into this church, with bare heads and feet, to the high altar. By it stand two short pillars. This is the place in which Moses received the Ten Commandments from Almighty God. Here is plenary absolution from penalty and guilt. Item outside the church to which we climbed first is this church, built on a rock. Southwards in the rock is a hole like the figure of a man. This is where Moses fell in his flight when he dared not look on God's face, which he had often desired to do. Item southwest, fifteen paces from the church, a small mosque has been built (that is a heathen church) to which the heathen and Saracens come daily,

<sup>1</sup> The ascent of Jebel Músá (7519 ft.) is by the track which has been followed by monks and pilgrims for centuries—a rude flight of rocky steps formed of huge slabs of granite arranged with considerable skill, but now destroyed at many points by the fall of rocks or rush of torrents.

<sup>2</sup> Estimates vary as to the number of steps, but in view of the difficulties of the ascent it is doubtful whether pilgrims had leisure to count them. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 205, quoting Pococke gives 3,000.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson (I, p. 153) speaks of a little church on the summit, formerly divided between the Greeks and the Latins. Fabri (II, p. 558) describes the church. He and his companions kissed the place where Moses received the Law, also the footsteps of the angel who appeared to him in visible form, likewise the foot-prints of Moses. They also attempted, not very successfully, to worm their way into the cleft in the rock. The chapel and mosque still exist.

making their pilgrimage in honour of Moses, for in their belief they take him for a great prophet. Beneath this mosque is a hole in the rock where Moses lay forty days fasting, until he was worthy to receive the Ten Commandments from Almighty God. Item a stone's throw from this mosque southwest is a cistern called Moses' spring, in which is very good, cool water. We sat there resting ourselves and eating what we had brought with us. Item from this mountain Oreb one sees Mt. Sinai lying southwards in front. Not more than a valley divides these two mountains, but Mt. Sinai is some 1,000 steps higher than this Mt. Oreb.

Item we climbed from Mt. Oreb westwards with much labour, and came in two hours to a ruined monastery lying beneath the mountain called 'The Forty Martyrs',<sup>1</sup> where we spent the night. Close by the brothers of the monastery of St. Catherine have a fine and pleasant garden, an Italian mile long, spread out between the mountains, but not large, which is raised between the mountains. In it grow quantities of grape-vines, olives, almonds, oranges, figs and many other rare fruits. This garden of the brothers is often laid waste by the heathen. This garden has to be watered daily from cisterns or springs, the water being carried in long canals to each tree, since it seldom rains in that country. Item at the end of the garden is a little chapel under a rock, in which St. Onofrius<sup>2</sup> did penance for a long time.

Item the next day we proceeded from this monastery southwards to Mt. Sinai, which is very high.<sup>3</sup> We travelled for fully five hours before we came to the summit of the mountain.

<sup>1</sup> The monastery (5605 ft.) in the valley of al Lejá was abandoned in the seventeenth century. Fabri (II, p. 583) describes it as a paradise in the wilderness. It takes its name from the massacre of forty monks by the Arabs c. 373. Robinson, I, p. 159. It is still famous for its garden.

<sup>2</sup> One of the early anchorites. See Walther, p. 208. The cell is still shown. Robinson, I, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Jebel Katherin (8551 ft.) is the highest mountain in the peninsula. The ascent was very difficult. Fabri and his companions (II, p. 569) crawled round the mass of rock, suspended from the face of the cliffs like ants climbing a tree. It was so cold on the top that they could not say their prayers. The climb was hard on shoe-leather. Some of the knights had to go barefoot to Cairo and others had only broken shoes with no soles. Fabri, II, p. 582. Von Harff is confused. On p. 144 he speaks of the grave of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai and of Moses' mountain called Mt. Horeb.

On the way we found two pleasant springs in which we washed ourselves. And as we went up by almost a 1,000 steps to the top we found no more steps, so that we had with great labour to pull ourselves up with our hands from one rock to the other. Item when we reached the top of the mountain we found neither church nor house, only the outline of a grave in a rock, to which the holy angels carried the body of St. Catharine from Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> Here it lay in the care and keeping of the angels for some three hundred years, until the time when it was revealed to a holy abbot down in the monastery, in his sleep, that he should go to Mt. Sinai, where he would find the body of a holy virgin called St. Catherine, which he was to take with him to his monastery and place honourably in another grave, which also happened. At this place there is plenary absolution from sin and penalty. Item Mt. Sinai is very high. From it one can see all the mountains round about for a distance of five or six days' journey.<sup>2</sup> One sees also a high and terrible mountain to the south, and the Red Sea, which one thinks is not more than three miles away, whereas it is more than three and a half days' journey distant. One sees also from this mountain Sur and Helim, where Moses lay for a long time with the children of Israel, which is three days' journey away, also a small town called Thor lying on the Red Sea, where all the spices from India are landed.

Item we returned from Mt. Sinai to St. Catherine's monastery, descending in two hours<sup>3</sup> and came to a valley called Tholas. On the way we saw a rock which Moses struck twelve

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 570) describes the summit as follows: 'The head or top of Mt. Sinai is all of one piece of rock, which on the top is flat, so as to form a round flat place not very wide, measuring about six paces across. The floor of this place is the crest of the rock, and all round about it at the edge there runs a dry stone wall like a fence, which has been built lest anyone walking carelessly should fall headlong down.' In the midst of this stone floor was a place hollowed out, which was believed to mark the spot where the saint's body rested. Fabri and his companions measured their bodies against it and inferred that she must have been of tall stature. Cp. Rieter, p. 104; Robinson, I, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> The view is described at length by Fabri, II, p. 571. Cp. Robinson, I, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> The descent was almost as difficult as the climb. Walther (p. 208) says: 'Nisi dominus et beata Katherina custodissent me, indubitanter mortuus fuisssem.'



times with a rod, whereupon twelve pleasant springs sprang up for the needs of the children of Israel, who had murmured a long time on account of the lack of water. But at this time we could see no water, although it looked as if water had flowed from it in the past.

Item in this valley of Tholas we came to a ruined monastery called St. John Climati, in which is a great cleft in a rock in which in the past holy brothers lay doing penance.<sup>1</sup>

Item we went further to another ruined monastery called St. Cosma and Damian, which lies in the middle of the valley of Tholas. Close by is a beautiful garden in which grow many rare fruits.<sup>2</sup> At the end of this garden is the place where the earth opened of itself and swallowed up Dathan and Abiram who had broken the commandment of God, as is clearly shown in the Bible, in the book Numbers in the sixteenth chapter.

Item we went further beside a small hill of earth thrown up on itself. Beneath it lie buried many of the children of Israel whom Moses caused to be slain for breaking the commandments of God.

Item we returned to the monastery of St. Catherine towards evening, having been absent one night and two days, and rested for the night. In the morning early the guardian showed us once more the relics of St. Catherine in a great procession of the brothers, and with great reverence.

Item we then made another bargain with other mokarij, who are camel and donkey drivers, to carry us from the monastery of St. Catherine to Thor on the Red Sea, to whom each of us had to give a ducat and provisions and other necessary things, which we bought from the brothers of the monastery.

Item we then took leave of the guardian, thanking him greatly, and travelled from the monastery in three and a half days to Thor through nothing but desert, where we saw neither man nor beast, but only great stony mountains with rocks and high and steep crags without earth, such as I have never seen

<sup>1</sup> The abbot Johannes Climacus, known as a writer who lived for forty years in the latter part of the sixth century. The name of the valley in Greek was then Thola. Robinson, I, p. 167. Dr. Robinson heard nothing of the small convent of SS. Cosmas and Damian visited by Pococke.

<sup>2</sup> On the garden, see Fabri, II, p. 591.

before in all my journeys. The face of the rock was of many colours, yellow, red, black and other colours, three roods broad and striped from top to bottom. Item we found from time to time in these mountains very pleasant springs, which only give water at the new moon.

Item after three days and a half we came to Thor. We had a letter of recommendation from the guardian of the monastery of St. Catherine to two brothers there, who have their own fine house. They received us honourably and rejoiced that we were Latin Christians.

Item Thor<sup>1</sup> is a small town without a wall, lying on the Red Sea, where all ships from India with spices, sandal wood and jewels have to unload. These goods are then carried on camels through the deserts of Arabia into heathen lands. The town has no other wealth in itself, as it is surrounded by barren country, so that all meal and provisions have to be brought from Cairo, eight days' journey through the desert. Item the houses in Thor are all covered with earth, and the wood with which they are built is large reeds which grow beside the sea, bigger, longer and thicker than elderwood. Item there are in this small town some fifty households of Christian Syrians, who are rich in property and goods, and they perform their rites daily in their houses. We dwelt with the two brothers from the monastery of St. Catharine, who gave us good company. Item these Syrians are named after a mighty ruined town called Sur, and they live in many heathen towns, paying tribute to the Sultan. They are not a warlike people, using neither bows, knives or swords, but employ themselves in the heavy labour of cultivation and in trading. Item the Syrians all wear blue turbans wound round their heads, and go about in this manner (p. 150).

Item they guard and lock up their women with great care, and do not suffer their wives or daughters to walk in the street unless they are draped and hidden in a white dress, and their faces covered with a black transparent net. This watch is so narrow and close that a daughter does not see her husband until the

<sup>1</sup> Thor is, or was, the chief quarantine station for the Mecca pilgrims. On its importance as a depot for the spice trade, see Heyd, II, pp. 446 ff. There is a description (1541) in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, VII, p. 288.



first night when they have slept together. Item some of these Syrians are in Christ's temple at Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> having also their own church there, where the mother of St. John the Evangelist lived. Item these Syrians use in their worldly business and trade

heth	zoy	waff	he	dolach			
𐤄	𐤆	𐤊	𐤌	𐤎			
gomal	beth	aleph	hee	zenitat			
𐤐	𐤒	𐤔	𐤖	𐤘			
nun	nym	lameth	kaph	joth			
𐤚	𐤛	𐤝	𐤟	𐤡			
thech	vi	o	i	e	a	thaf	syn
𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫
res	koph	zsade	ffe				
𐤬	𐤭	𐤮	𐤯				

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 204.

the Saracen or Moorish speech, but in religious services they use the Chaldean tongue, the alphabet being here correctly given.<sup>1</sup>

Item we went from this town of Thor with certain of these Syrian Christians, who took us northwards for a German mile across a level, deep and sandy plain to a fine ruined monastery called St. John's, where the vale of Helim begins. Item this monastery is built very strong, with high walls and eight strong towers, which are still whole, but within it has been entirely destroyed by the wild Arabs. Inside this monastery the Syrian Christians have their graveyard. Item near this monastery in the sand stands a fine well, from which those of Thor have to fetch their drinking water daily on camels, asses and mules.

Item we went from this monastery southwards to the Red Sea. In half a German mile we came to a small valley beside a mountain. On the right hand we saw twelve fine and pleasant springs issuing out of the mountain in a row, one beside the other, five roods long.<sup>2</sup> The Syrians told us that when Moses led the children of Israel through the Arabian wilderness they came through the valley of Helim and encamped in this place, where at that time there was no water. Forthwith, by the power of God, he made these twelve springs to issue out of the earth so that they and their beasts could drink. They lay here for a long time, so that Moses planted seventy-two date trees by these twelve springs as a holy memorial—the twelve springs and the seventy-two date trees, as the Bible clearly tells us. When Moses heard that King Pharaoh was preparing to follow them from Egypt he departed forthwith with the children of Israel and cursed these twelve springs, so that they were not good to drink, and so that Pharaoh and his people should not find good drinking water. And to this very day these twelve springs are not good to drink, but the Arabs and Christians go there to bathe for all diseases of the body. Item by these springs there

<sup>1</sup> The alphabet is from Breydenbach (Davies, plate 40). It is Nestorian-Syrian, but not correctly copied. The order is mixed, the vowels are curious. The names are freakish. I am indebted for this note to the School of Oriental and African Studies.

<sup>2</sup> The waters of Marah (Exodus xv, 23). Fabri (II, p. 660) repeats some of the stories told by the Arabs about these springs. Mandeville (p. 39), like von Harff, adds two trees to the threescore and ten palm trees of Exodus, another indication of von Harff's use of Mandeville.

stand now some 2,000 date trees which belong to the Arabs, the Syrian Christians, and the monastery of St. Catherine, each with their own gardens walled about, which are watered by means of canals from these twelve springs.

Item Moses fled before King Pharaoh from this place, half a German mile to the Red Sea. We also followed his route to the sea. There stood the thicket or bush from which Moses broke the rod with which he smote the sea and the waters parted, so that the children of Israel went over with dry feet, but when Pharaoh followed after, the sea returned, so that he and all his people were drowned. Item from here we saw, across the Red Sea, two islands<sup>1</sup> lying there with high mountains, the one called Elkoyser, the other Suys, to which Moses went through the sea when he fled from Pharaoh with the Israelites. But it was told me that Moses and the Israelites did not cross the whole of the Red Sea, but about half-way, and when Moses saw how Pharaoh with all his people were drowned, he returned by the way he had come, which will also be found to be true. Item in these parts the Red Sea is some five German miles across. We here took some of the sticks from the bush from which Moses had taken his branch, with which he had divided the Red Sea, and travelled back along the Red Sea, half a German mile to Thor. On the way we found along the shore many rare stones, white and red coral, also blue, yellow, red, black, and many kinds of coloured stones and shells. Item this Red Sea is not red,<sup>2</sup> but is like other salt water, and is an arm or branch of the great western or Indian sea. It is called red on account of certain parts of it, where one finds coral and rubies. The sand is also red, together with the mountains and earth there about, so that from a distance, by reason of the reflection in certain parts of the sea, it appears to be red in colour, but it is not. I was told by the Saracen Christians that it is called the Red Sea by them on account of the great bloodshed when King Pharaoh and his people were overthrown there.

<sup>1</sup> There must be a confusion here. Von Harff was probably looking at the mountains on the Egyptian coast. He cannot have seen the towns of Kossêro and Suez, although he may have heard of them. Seydlitz, p. 25; Korth, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Most pilgrims were disappointed to find that the Red Sea was not red. They were familiar with picture-maps such as the Hereford and Ebstorf maps, and with Behaim, in which the sea is painted blood-red.

Item here in Thor there were two Genoese merchants who wished to travel to India, to a trading town called Madagascar,<sup>1</sup> in order to traffic there. They were waiting for the ships from India with the spices, in order to travel back with them. These ships arrive twice every year from India, in March and September, carrying spices. It would have been well to sail with them to India, but the time was too long for me to wait. I proposed therefore to remain with the ambassador from India, who was to perform half my journey by land. When the two merchants heard that I had in mind to make the long and difficult journey by land with this lord, they gave me their company, and we travelled forward together in the protection of God.

Item we set off once more through the dangerous wilderness with camels, provisions and other necessary things, in the same manner as I have described above.

Item we left Thor some six hundred strong, Christians, Jews and many heathen, whose religion drew them to Mecca to seek their prophet Mahomet, and travelled through nothing but deserts, beside the Red Sea eastwards, to a little town called Negra, a four days' journey, which town lies beneath a high mountain and is subject to the Sultan.

Item from Negra to Scara, 4 days' journey, through nothing but desert. Scara is a small town and is also subject to the Sultan. On this journey we had between us and the Red Sea a mountain of incredible height.

Item from Schara to Mecca<sup>2</sup> 4 days' journey, through nothing but desert. No Christian or Jew may enter this

<sup>1</sup> If we allow three weeks since von Harff left Cairo he would have reached Thor some time in August, but there is nothing to show that the Indian ships traded to Madagascar. There may be some confusion here with Magadoxo on the Somali coast, but even this is difficult to explain. India was an elastic term in those days. Cp. Mandeville's *India the More and Less* and *Northern India* (p. 105). Jordanus' *India Tertia* was on the E. coast of Africa or Zanzibar. Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 27, note.

<sup>2</sup> Korth (p. 208) doubts whether v. Harff made this journey. In any case it cannot have been accomplished in 8 days. Boldensele (p. 246) says it took 25 days from Cairo. Mandeville (p. 28) gives 32 days. Cp. Seydlitz, pp. 26, 27. Korth identifies Negra with Hedjar (El Hjr, Varthema, p. 34, note). Von Harff seems to have confused the Kaaba at Mecca with the Prophet's tomb at Medina, but the belief that Mahomet was buried at Mecca was general in the Middle Ages. The error is repeated by Qdoric (*Cathay*, II, p. 123). Accord-

town, for the heathen take us to be dogs and not worthy to enter the holy city. So we Christians and Jews had to remain on a mountain about half a German mile from the town, which we could see very well. But I had a dragoman, who was a Mameluke, a renegade Christian, who took me in the evening secretly into the town dressed in appearance like him. It is a very pleasant town surrounded by beautiful gardens of trees with rare fruit. Beside the town a fine and large river runs southwards to the Red Sea. In the town stands a very beautiful temple called in their tongue *meskita*, very fine and large, and built as high as any on earth. We and all the heathen entered bareheaded and with bare feet with great devotion, crying, screaming, and calling out pitifully according to their religion, until we reached the east end of the church, where stands a fine, black marble tomb above the earth, with a cover five feet high, four broad, and ten long, in which their prophet Mahomet is said to lie. There they gave much alms. I estimated that around this tomb and in this church there hang more than 2,000 lamps, which burn with oil in honour of their prophet Mahomet. But I saw no pictures or idols in this church, and certain of the heathen say that he does not lie in this tomb, but that God drew him up to heaven, body and soul. So we departed thence and returned to our company.

Item from this mountain we proceeded to Trippa,<sup>1</sup> ten days' journey, across a river which runs through Mecca. This is a fine town, and by it runs a great river called Becius southwards to the Red Sea. This town lies in a pleasant country. Here at Trippa begins the land of Arabia Felix.

ing to Bertrandon de la Brocquière (p. 302) it was current even among Moslem pilgrims to Mecca. Boldensele and Mandeville both speak of Mecca as the place of burial. I see no reason to doubt that v. Harff went to Mecca. Varthema was at Medina and Mecca in 1503, although he travelled as a Mameluke and seems to have made some kind of profession of the Islamic faith, and Röhricht-Meisner record the visits to Mecca of other German travellers (pp. 59, 532), e.g. Jacob von Bern (1346-47), and Oertel (1561).

<sup>1</sup> Seydlitz (pp. 29, 30) makes a gallant attempt to trace the following route, but it is beyond me. See Korth, p. 209. Varthema (p. 75) describes a city called Almacarana (El Makrânah) in Arabia Felix. Waldseemüller (plate 7) shows a river called Becius flowing into the Red Sea.

Item from Trippa to Albachna, 8 days' journey,  
through many villages and small towns. This town lies in Arabia  
Felix and the Christians there are called Abyssinians.

Item from Albachna to Mogida, 5 days' journey,  
we passed through many towns and villages. This is a fine town  
in Arabia Felix, and the Christians there are also Abyssinians  
who believe as do the Syrians, of whom I have written above.  
Through this town flows a great river southwards to the Great  
Sea. In this town they speak the Chaldean language. Here ends  
Arabia Felix, and on the other side of the river begins the king-  
dom of Saba.

Item from Mogida to Schameach, 10 days' journey,  
a town; we crossed a high mountain called Elmax.

Item from Schameach to Sabel, 2 days' journey,  
a town.

Item from Sabel to Saba,<sup>1</sup> 1 day's journey,  
a fine large town through which runs a great river called Babel.  
In this town the king of this country, called Thodar, holds his  
court, who is subject to the great lord of India and is forced to  
pay tribute to him.<sup>2</sup> Over this town the prophetess Saba was  
Queen in the year 4165 after the creation of the world. She  
went to Jerusalem to King Solomon to prove his wisdom and  
was called Sybilla, but, on account of her wisdom and knowledge  
of things to come, she would not pass over the wood whereon our  
Lord Christ was to redeem mankind.

Item from Saba to Madach,<sup>3</sup> 10 days' journey.  
We passed on with the king's safe-conduct through many towns  
and villages. This is a very fine and rich town lying on the western  
Indian Sea. Here there goes a branch of the great Indian Sea

<sup>1</sup> The traditional residence of the Queen of Sheba, now Jebel Saber, on the road from Aden to Marib. Behaim, p. 82. The reference to the wood is to the bridge over the brook Kedron. See below p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a reference to Prester John, the mysterious and elusive Christian ruler of Asia (later Abyssinia). See article by Denison Ross in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 174 ff., and my articles in *Notes and Queries* 1945, vol. 188, pp. 178, 204, 246, 266 and vol. 189, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> This must be Aden. Von Harff probably took the name Madoca or Mar-dache from Ptolemy. For descriptions see Marco Polo, II, p. 438; Ibn Battuta, p. 109; Conti, p. 21.



westwards, which is called the Red Sea, which I have already described. There is a very good harbour here so that all merchandise can be landed, and through this town runs a large river from the north into the Great Sea.

Item at Madach we contracted to be carried on a ship to Kangara, a trading town in the Kingdom of Moabar, for which each of us had to pay ten ducats, and we had to take our own food, which we purchased at Madach and took with us on to the ship.

Item from Madach we came with a good wind in four days to an island called Schoyra. Our ship had no iron in it on account of the magnetic rocks, of which we saw many lying in the sea, and which draw to them and destroy any ships which have iron in them.<sup>1</sup> In this island of Schoyra<sup>2</sup> live many good Thomas-Christians. They have a bishop or patriarch whom they regard as their leader, but he has to pay tribute to the great lord of India. Item this island is more than a hundred German miles in extent. Item not far from this island of Schoyra we were shown a small island<sup>3</sup> to the east, lying half a day's journey away, in

<sup>1</sup> Taken probably from Mandeville (p. 109) who got it from Odoric (II, p. 114), but the absence of nails seems to have been due to the fact that there was no iron for making nails. Cp. Marco Polo, I, p. 108 and note 3 (p. 117) for an account of these stitched ships. Behaim (p. 88) has a legend about the Magnetic islands called Maniole. He places them between Java Major and the mainland of India. See further on stitched ships, Ghistele, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Socotra. Conti (p. 20) has Sechutera. Behaim has Scoria. Waldseemüller (sheet 12) has Scoyra. There is a description of the island in Marco Polo, II, p. 406, and Yule has a long note on the Christian inhabitants. Cp. *Cathay*, III, p. 7. I am inclined to believe that v. Harff did get to Socotra. If not he must have obtained very detailed information at Aden. The observations on the dress, religion and habits of the people have a genuine ring and are not copied from Marco Polo.

<sup>3</sup> With the islands of men and women we are in the realms of fancy, and note again (Intro. p. xvi) the odd similarity between von Harff's eastern travels and contemporary maps. Behaim (G. 15) shows two islands north of Scoria, 'Masculina' and 'Feminea' marked with flags. He says (p. 105), 'In the year 1285 after the birth of Christ one of these islands was inhabited by men only, the other by women only, who met once a year. They are Christians and have a bishop who is under the Archbishop of Scotra.' This is largely from Marco Polo (II, p. 404). Waldseemüller (sheet 12) shows two islands with a Latin legend to the same effect, and quotes the same date, also from Marco Polo. The rest comes probably from Mandeville (p. 103), or from the forged letter of Prester John (Zarncke, p. 917. *Notes and Queries*, vol. 188, p. 206).

which dwell only men without women, and beyond this island, which we saw, there is said to be another small island half a day's journey further to the southeast in which dwell women only without men. They come together once a year for ten days in order to beget children, and when the women give birth to boys they send them straightway home to their fathers, and if the father does not want to keep the boy, they kill the child forthwith. But if it is a girl they keep it in the island and cut off its breast, so that the breast should not hinder it in giving battle and fighting, and so that the base of the shield can hang there and they can defend themselves with bucklers, for they all fight with horn hand-bows. They think that if a maiden or woman is brought up with her breasts or becomes accustomed to them, she loses her strength. I saw two of these women in this island and town of Schoyra, who had been sent by their king to the bishop of Schoyra, since they are also Christians, to bring him the year's tribute, and they went about the streets like this.



Item my companions and I desired to travel about the island to view it, but we were advised not to do so. Moreover the patron of our ship would not wait for us, as he had to proceed with his voyage and merchandise.

Item on the voyage between Madach and Schoyra we saw three times towards evening, in the sea, two mighty beasts fighting furiously together. We were told that one was a sea-dragon, called leviathan,<sup>1</sup> and the other a whale. The leviathan had four feet with claws like a griffin and great broad fins like a bird, with which it leapt high out of the water. It had also a long thick tail, with which it struck fiercely, and a great mouth with huge teeth, so that what with the long claws, the sharp teeth, the tail, and the flying leaps, it attacked the whale with force and put it in great peril. Item we saw further that the great and fearsome whale had drawn in or swallowed more than three tons of water, which it blew out all at once on to the sea-dragon and dazed it, so that we lost sight of it for a long time. I saw from the land two of these sea-dragons fighting in this manner.



Item here in Schoyra are good Christians of St. Thomas's beliefs. They are for the most part rich, but there are also poor

<sup>1</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 11) has a legend between Scoyra and the mainland about fights between marine dragons and whales. I do not know from what source von Harff got his description and picture. South of Scoyra, and just north of Madagascar, Waldseemüller has another legend about a sea monster, 'cuius figura vix de scribi potest nisi quod est pella mollis et carne immensa.'

people. They pray devoutly and long in their churches, in which there are many strange things not according to our customs. They all wear long dyed linen cloaks, and bind round their heads—men and women—blue turbans, and all go barefoot. They consecrate with bread like the Greeks, and administer it to young and old every Sunday after Mass. They cause themselves to be circumcised, as Christ also suffered himself to be circumcised, and before baptism they brand the little children with a hot iron with a cross on the forehead, chin or shoulderblade,<sup>1</sup> and maintain that they are then redeemed from original sin, as Christ said: 'he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Item they come to church every Sunday with great devotion, and begin for the most part to cry with loud voices, singing, jumping and clapping with feet and hands, making a great noise, now seven, now eight, now ten together. They do this with such vigour and devotion that at times they fall down senseless. Item their priests have wives and children and receive no fixed income, only what men give them for the love of God, and they go about dressed like this.



<sup>1</sup> See Marco Polo, II, p. 427 and note. In 1404 Adam of Usk saw at Rome two monks from India (Ethiopia) with crosses branded on their breasts and right ears. *Chronicle*, ed. by E. M. Thompson, 1904, p. 267.

Item these Thomas-Christians have their own speech in this island, the alphabet being set out correctly below.<sup>1</sup>

a	le	phu	beth	theth	ga	me
𐑀	𐑁	𐑂	𐑃	𐑄	𐑅	𐑆
lie	dah	le	zchu	he	vnn	vouf
𐑇	𐑈	𐑉	𐑊	𐑋	𐑌	𐑍
za	in	he	thu	the	thu	jo
𐑎	𐑏	𐑐	𐑑	𐑒	𐑓	𐑔
du	ka	phu	la	me		
𐑕	𐑖	𐑗	𐑘	𐑙	𐑚	
du	do	nun	sach	mun	the	thu
𐑛	𐑜	𐑝	𐑞	𐑟	𐑠	𐑡
me	mun	e	phe	zah	de	co
𐑢	𐑣	𐑤	𐑥	𐑦	𐑧	𐑨
ffu	ke	du	dah	nun	tha	vwo
𐑩	𐑪	𐑫	𐑬	𐑭	𐑮	𐑯

Item from Schoyra to Nubarta,<sup>2</sup> 9 days' journey.  
We sailed southwards past many small islands and sandbanks lying in the sea. This is a fine town lying on the island called

<sup>1</sup> From Breydenbach (Davies, p. 41), there called Ethiopic. I am informed by the School of Oriental and African Studies that the alphabet is not correct. The order is wrong, and the forms are bad. The names are freakish.

<sup>2</sup>Waldseemüller (sheet 2) has Nubarta. Ptolemy has Nubarta. Not in Behaim.

Tabroban,<sup>1</sup> which has many towns and villages and is one of the largest islands one can find, being, it is said, two hundred German miles in circumference. This island has also many great mountains, long, lofty and broad, in which are elephants, lions, dragons and other rare creatures. This island has its own Christian King who holds the belief of St. Thomas, but he is subject to the great lord of India, to whom he has to pay tribute. He keeps his court always at Nubarta, where he has a fine palace. Further there runs a fine and great river through this town, called Aldemaure, which is at times as salt as the sea. This comes from the extraordinary heat of the sun at midday.

Item from Nubarta to Argmento, 14 days' journey.  
We travelled southwards past many islands and masses of magnetic rocks, of which we had to take great care, although our ship had no iron in it. This is a fine trading town, lying on a large island called Ybadium,<sup>2</sup> which is also subject to the great lord of India, and the people are good Christians called Thomites. Much gold is found in this island.

Item from Argmento to Kangera,<sup>3</sup> 2 days' journey.  
We sailed with a good wind. This is a fine trading town and lies on the mainland, so that we could reach it without crossing the sea. All the merchant ships which trade in these parts come to shore at this town of Kangera, which lies in the province of Moabar. This province has its own king, to whom four great kingdoms in the province are subject. Nevertheless he has to pay tribute to the great lord of India, named the Loblin and is subject to him. This is the greatest and richest province in all his dominions, since spices, pearls and precious stones are

<sup>1</sup> Ceylon. See Marco Polo (II, p. 312) who calls it the largest island in the world. Cp. Mandeville (p. 198), who speaks of the Christians there. There is a long account of Ceylon in Barbosa, II, p. 112 ff. I have given my reasons in the Introduction (p. xvi) for doubting the whole of this Indian episode.

<sup>2</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 12) shows an island in the Indian Ocean called Ybadium, '*insula fertilissima et aurū multū efficit.*' Korth (p. 213) identifies Ybadium with Ceylon.

<sup>3</sup> Von Harff seems to have taken the name from the Canagara or Canagora of Ptolemy, but Ptolemy places it in the Bay of Bengal. Cp. McCrindle, p. 70 and map.

found there. Item the inhabitants are black in appearance and are said to be Christian Thomites, but from their beliefs they seem to me to be worse than heathen, as they maintain and believe that God is a man and does a man's work, but he has his head in heaven and his feet on the earth, and they live in my opinion in many points like beasts. They are for the most part good astronomers and have to do with black arts. Item I was told that the king has five lawful wives according to his five kingdoms.

Item I saw no sheep in these kingdoms and provinces. Item these provinces and countries lie southwards at the end of the world, so that I lost sight of the *polum articum*, or north star, and saw there the *polum antarticum*, twenty-six degrees high, which is the south star, which we cannot see in our country because of the roundness of the waters and the earth.<sup>1</sup>

Item from Kangerā to Kalamie, 10 days' journey. We rode along the seashore westwards on hired mules and donkeys, through many towns and villages and great deserts. This town of Calamie lies by the sea in the kingdom which is called Mackeron,<sup>2</sup> which is also subject to the king of Moabar.

Item in this town of Calmie<sup>3</sup> is a fine and exquisite church

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo (II, p. 284) lost sight of the Pole Star in Java the Less. Mandeville (p. 120) writing of the island of Lamary (Odoric's Lamori—Sumatra) says, 'In that land . . . no man may see the Star Transmontane, that is clept the Star of the Sea . . . but men see another star, the contrary to him, that is towards the south that is clept Antarctic.' Waldseemüller (sheet 13), in Java Minor, says 'hic polus arcticus videri non potest'.

<sup>2</sup> Von Harff's Mackeron is Maabar (our Madras region). *Cathay*, II, p. 141; Marco Polo, II, pp. 331 ff. Behaim (p. 94) has Maabar.

<sup>3</sup> Behaim (p. 94) has Calmia, the Calamina of ecclesiastical tradition where St. Thomas was martyred and buried. For the St. Thomas legend and his burial place see Marco Polo, II, p. 353 and note p. 356; *Cathay*, II, p. 141; III, p. 249; Mandeville, p. 115. Harff probably got his story from Marco Polo. Note that Harff states that the church is built 'high up'. Marco Polo (II, p. 353) says 'not very accessible'. Yule at II, p. 355 writes 'the little town where the body of St. Thomas lay was Mailapūr, the name of which is still applied to a suburb of Madras, about 3½ miles south of Fort St. George'. There are two St. Thomas's Mounts, the Great Mount St. Thomas where the Apostle expired, and the Little Mount, where the Apostle was attacked and wounded, two miles from San Thomé. Ignoring the tradition of the removal of the saint's remains to Edessa in 394, the Portuguese in 1522 sent a commission to search for the body. The report states that the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of a king whom he converted. The relics were transferred to Goa, to the church of St. Thomas in that city (*Cathay*, II, p. 142). The whole

built high up. Within it is entirely gilded over and paved below with precious stones. To the right of the altar, in a choir, stands a very beautiful and precious grave adorned with precious stones and pearls, in which rests the body of St. Thomas. The Christians, called Thomites, regard this chapel with great reverence and devotion, and more than a hundred lamps burn daily in the chapel.<sup>1</sup> Item on the high altar they show St. Thomas the Apostle's right arm, with the hand, which is adorned with countless jewels, where great miracles are performed daily, as we were told, but that they [the relics] administer the sacrament to the people is not true.<sup>2</sup>

subject of St. Thomas's connection with India is studied in a valuable paper by W. R. Phillips in the *Indian Antiquary* xxxii (1903) January and April. Neither John of Monte Corvino (*Cathay*, III, p. 45) nor Marignolli (*Cathay*, III, pp. 249 ff.), describes the church, but Odoric (*Cathay*, II, p. 142) tells us that it was filled with idols, and beside it were some fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilential heretics.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours (*Lib. Miraculorum*, I, cap. xxxii) relates that the monastery and temple were of great size and excellent structure and ornament. In it God showed a wonderful miracle, for the lamp that stood alight before the place of sepulture kept burning perpetually, night and day, by divine influence, for neither oil nor wick was ever renewed by human hands.

<sup>2</sup> Mandeville (p. 115) tells us that the arm and hand which the Apostle put into our Lord's side gave judgments in all matters of dispute, casting away the untrue bill and retaining the true one. The story of the administration of the Sacrament is given by Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imp.* (III, xxvi) where the hand reaches the host to the faithful and withholds it from the unworthy. It is told in more detail in one of the documents (of the twelfth century) associated with Prester John and printed by Zarncke, pp. 837-843. *De adventu Patriarchae Indorum*. See my article on Prester John, *Notes and Queries*, vol. 188, p. 179, where the document is abstracted. The body was preserved in the mother-church of St. Thomas in a city called Hulna. On the Apostle's feast-day the Patriarch opened the shrine and placed the holy body in a pontifical chair, close to the altar. The body remained as in life. The face was ruddy, having long hair hanging down to the shoulders, a red beard, curly but not long, and the clothes were as fresh as when they were first put on. When the time came for receiving the eucharist, the Patriarch carried the elements to the place where the Apostle sat, who received the wafers in his right hand, holding them in his extended palm and offering the host to the faithful. But if a heretic or anyone infected with sin drew near to communicate, forthwith, in the sight of all, the Apostle withdrew his hand and closed it, whereupon the heretic or sinner either repented, and in penitence received the sacrament, or died. After the accomplishment of the sacred mysteries, the holy body was replaced in the shrine. Von Harff probably got the description of the church from Prester John's Letter, but it is strange that he speaks only of the right arm, unless he was copying from Mandeville.



Item southwards, close to this church, stands an ancient small church beneath a vault, wherein St. Thomas lay in prison, and where he was thrust into a hot oven, with many other torments, but these, through God's grace, did not hurt him. They then carried him to the place where the church now stands, where the people had their idol standing on a pillar, which they re-



quired him to worship. He fell on his knees in holy prayer, whereupon the idol broke into a thousand pieces.<sup>1</sup> When the king and tyrant saw that his idol was destroyed, he caused St. Thomas, the holy Apostle, straightway and on that place, to be slain with the sword. His secret followers then took up the holy body and buried it in that place, and afterwards they caused a stately figure to be set up on the grave where he lies, except for the right arm which is preserved in the church on the high altar, but without the head. It was told me by the Christians that four hundred years ago the great lord of India, called the Loblin, or as we should say Prester John, was at enmity with the King of Moabar who ruled over Lesser India, and was in rebellion con-

<sup>1</sup> The story of the idol comes from the *Golden Legend* (II, p. 148), but it is stated there that the body was taken to Edessa by Alexander the Emperor.

cerning the tribute which he had to pay, and that Prester John overthrew him with force, whereupon the king of Moabar had to ask for peace. The great lord of India then ordered him to deliver up forthwith the head of St. Thomas the Apostle. This he was forced to do, and the holy head was forthwith carried to the lord in his tent with a great procession and much reverence. Thereupon the great lord of India went home with a great procession, very reverently, and brought the true head of the Apostle St. Thomas to his chief town, called Edessa, where it is held to this day in great honour, but I have not been there. All this I was told by the Christians in Calamie.

Item there is a very beautiful and large church in Calamie where, placed against the pillars inside and higher than a man's stature, are great figures. The one set up to the east was seated on a chair,<sup>1</sup> very finely adorned, and holding a half-moon in his right hand. I enquired if they worshipped them and they said yes. The highest one was almighty God and the others were the seven planets, which they ruled together with the whole world. Therefore they honoured them, one each day, according to the seven days of the week. They have much in their beliefs, as it seemed to me, which was worse than the heathen, but they fear God and honour St. Thomas more than God.

Item in front of this church westwards stands a fine walled pond, ten paces long and broad: the inhabitants and others coming there to seek St. Thomas and the great God with the seven planets, throw into the pond, out of devotion, much gold and precious stones.<sup>2</sup> They then drink from it, believing that no evil will befall them for a year. We were told that the priests take out the gold and jewels, from which they live and build the churches.

Item the people in the kingdom of Mackeron are quite black, wearing little and being very immodest. In this province I saw

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Odoric (*Cathay*, II, p. 142) who says that it was as big as St. Christopher is commonly represented by painters and that it was entirely of gold, seated on a great throne which was also of gold. Round its neck was a collar of gems of immense value. The church was of pure gold, roof, walls and pavement. Mandeville (p. 116) places the idol with others in the church of St. Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> From Odoric (*Cathay*, II, p. 144), or Mandeville, p. 117.

many strange animals, such as white elephants, white lions, white merecats, and many others of fierce aspect whose names I do not remember.

Item from Calamia to Lack, 6 days' journey.  
We travelled by land along the sea southward. On the way we saw many houses built of snails' shells, two placed together in this manner.<sup>1</sup>



Item Lack is a fine and large town, lying in the kingdom also called Lack, and is subject to the king of Moabar.<sup>2</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> Mandeville (pp. 129) speaks of giant snails in the kingdom of Calonak in which men lived as they would do in a little house. Cp. Odoric's tortoise 'bigger in compass than the dome of St. Anthony's church in Padua'. *Cathay*, II, p. 165. The story is as old as Aelian, who reports that tortoises were to be found in the island of Taprobane sufficiently large to cover a house. Cp. Pliny, IX, ch. XII, and Major's Introd. (pp. xliii-iv) to *India in the 15th century*.

<sup>2</sup> Much of what follows seems to come from maps and from Odoric, Marco Polo, and Mandeville. Waldseemüller (sheet 12) has *Lac Regnum*, with a legend about people 'qui super modum mendacium horrent, vivunt casti valde, sunt boni et iusti sed ydolatre, nudi totaliter vadunt, bouem adorant'. Behaim (p. 85) has *Lac* and a legend below, 'The people of this kingdom and land of Waar go naked and worship an ox.' Odoric (*Cathay*, II, p. 147) reports that in Sumatra the people mocked much at him, 'saying that God made Adam naked, but I must needs go against his will and wear clothes,' and that

country we could not travel before midday, but only after midday and half through the night, on account of the great heat in that land. The people are quite black and go about usually quite naked, men and women, without even an animal's skin to cover their shame. They mocked at us for wearing clothes and took us to be people from another world and not of Adam's race, since God created Adam and Eve naked, but it is my belief that if they spent a winter in our country they would not copy Adam and Eve. Item the people in these provinces are very honest and would not lie, however profitable it might be. They are not unchaste, except in some matters which I observed, but will not write of here, but they do not have separate wives; all are in common. They also have the produce of the land in common, and are therefore both rich and poor.

Item the people in Lack worship oxen, but in honour of him who made them. They think that it is not possible to find a more simple or innocent beast to compare with God than an ox. One finds many pearls and precious stones beside the sea, and in the rivers which flow through this province, so that the children play with them in the streets.

Item from Lack to Besoch, 3 days' journey.  
We came once more to the west or Indian sea. In this town we bargained to be carried across the sea to a town called Madagascar, for which each had to pay four ducats and find his own provisions. This town belongs to the kingdom of Lack.

Item from Besoch to Kamerate, 7 days' journey.  
We sailed with a good wind. This is a fine town lying on an island of the same name.<sup>1</sup> Item the people, young and old, are

the women were in common. Cp. Marco Polo (II, p. 338) who says that in Maabar 'there is never a tailor to cut a coat or stitch it'. The people worshipped an ox (p. 341) and the children ran about carrying pearls to the merchants (p. 344). Mandeville (p. 110), writing of India, says the people worship an ox as 'the most holy beast that is on earth and most patient, and more profitable than any other'.

<sup>1</sup> Korth (p. 215) suggests Camorta in the Nicobar Islands. Von Harff seems to have taken the dog-faced people from Mandeville (p. 130), who writes of men and women with hounds' heads in the island of Nacumera (Nancoury, one of the Nicobars?). 'They be clept Cynocephales. And they be full reasonable and of good understanding, save that they worship an ox for their God. And also every one of them beareth an ox of gold or of silver in his forehead

all quite black: their heads have a likeness to dogs' heads and they are called *cenafalles*. They are of good speech and understanding. They worship an ox in honour of God who made it. Wherefore, young and old, have the sign of the ox branded on the forehead, now gold, now silver, in honour of God whom they worship through the ox. They go quite naked, except that they cover their shame with a raw skin. They are big and strong people who fight well, and they carry large pointed shields with which, in battle, they cover their whole bodies. The people have their own king in this island, to whom they render honour, state and riches.

Item our merchants in the ship did much trade by exchange, and the people in the island go about like this.



in token that they love their God. And they go all naked save a little clout that they cover with their knees and members. They be great folk and well-fighting. And they have a great targe that covereth all the body, and a spear in the hand to fight with.' Odoric's account (*Cathay*, II, p. 169) is almost identical. Here we have an almost literal plagiarism from Mandeville or Odoric. Marco Polo (II, p. 309) puts his dog-faced people in the Andaman Islands. Ibn Battuta (*Cathay*, IV, p. 93) places them in the Nicobars, but only the men had mouths like dogs. The women were extremely beautiful. Yule adds, 'I take the dogs' muzzles to be only a strong way of describing the protruding lips and coarse features of one common type of Indo-Chinese face', and gives a picture. This view is supported by von Harff's drawing.

Item from Kamerat to Madagascar, 9 days' journey. We sailed with a good wind, past many rocks and islands lying in the sea. This is an unbelievably great trading town, lying on a large island, 1,000 German miles in circumference.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it is reckoned as the largest island in the world. Item there is a fine harbour and all merchants of the world land here to ply their trade, but one finds few trading ships which sail further. Item this island has no king, but all are ruled from this mighty town and follow the faith of Mahomet. They eat mostly the flesh of camels of which there are many in this island.

Item in this island of Madagascar grow all kinds of spices, such as ginger, pepper and other spices. Ginger is a root very pleasant to taste, which they eat as a relish, and I have seen pepper growing there in fields four or five miles long, with fig-trees, olives and other trees. A pepper vine is set beside the tree which grows

<sup>1</sup> I do not think v. Harff got to Madagascar, which he thought was in India (above p. 153). Yule (Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 413) suggests that Marco Polo confused Madagascar with Magadoxo on the Somali coast: Makdashu (Magadoxo) may easily have been confused with Madagascar. There are no camels in Madagascar, and the mention of camels suggest Somaliland and Magadoxo. It looks as if v. Harff had made the same mistake. His description (except for the pepper harvest) seems to come from Marco Polo and is confirmed by Waldseemüller. Marco Polo reports that the people are Mahometans, that the island is one of the greatest in the world, that it is 4,000 miles in compass, that the people live by trade and handicrafts, and that they subsist on camels' flesh, of which they kill an incredible number daily. Waldseemüller (sheet 12) describes the island as the largest and richest in the world, 2,000 miliaria in extent. The account of the pepper harvest comes from Mandeville's description of the island of Combar (p. 112). He tells us that the pepper grew like a wild vine planted by a tree, and that the fruit hung down like raisins, but according to Mandeville the pepper was placed in ovens, not in the sun, to make it black and crisp. Mandeville also reports that the inhabitants kept the white pepper for themselves. The snake story is in Mandeville, who likewise denies the truth of it and for the same reason, and v. Harff's little aside 'saving an ignorant chatterer's honour' again suggests his use of Mandeville. Mandeville has an aside: 'But save their grace of all that say so.' The French version printed by Warner has a similar phrase. The aside does not occur in Otto von Diemerigen's translation. Unfortunately the German translation by M. Velser, which v. Harff could have used, is not accessible to me. The snake story appears in Odoric (*Cathay*, II, p. 136). It is told at its best in the forged Letter of Prester John circulated about 1165 (Zarncke, p. 912) which was very popular in Germany. See also my article in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 189, p. 205. There are other indications that v. Harff was familiar with Prester John's Letter. For the pepper plant see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. pepper.

with it and winds itself round with branch upon branch like a grape vine in Lombardy, which is planted with an olive tree, so that vine and olive grow together. In this manner the pepper vines ripen three times a year, growing to their proper height, together with the trees, like a grape vine, so that the trees and the pepper vines are both loaded with fruit, until one would think that they must fall down. About March the flowers spring from the pepper vine, and grow with the long pepper for about two months, hanging in clusters like grapes, and at the proper time it is quite green in appearance. It is then cut off like grape vines, and spread out on cloths in the sun, whereby it becomes dry and grey and shrunken. This is the long pepper. Item when the long pepper is gathered, about the middle of May, the pepper vine produces leaves with the round pepper, which hang together like small grapes. When it is ripe it is green in colour, and it is then cut off and spread in the hot sun until it is dry, black and shrunken. These are the pepper corns or round pepper. About October there appear on the pepper vines other small pods without flowers or leaves. This is the white pepper. This is then cut off and dried in the sun, and remains white and shrunken. This pepper is kept in the country and used in their food and drink, as it is not by nature hot. As for the other two, they have no use for them in hot countries. Item it is said in our country that they put fire beneath the pepper trees on account of the wild snakes, which are burnt with the pepper. Item it is said that they put this pepper into hot ovens so that we shall not be able to plant it. I tell you (saving an ignorant chatterer's honour) that they do not put fire under the pepper trees, which is readily understood, for they would burn the husks and rind of the pepper pods so that they would be spoilt, although it is true that there are many snakes and evil, poisonous animals in this island, against which they make fire with herbs, so that the wild animals fly out of their lairs. But I have gone far in beneath the trees, and have slept there without seeing any evil creatures.

Item between Kamerath and Madagascar we saw twice, towards evening, two creatures fighting in the sea. I was told that they were a sea-ox and a sea-cow, called falgches, and the male fights with his mate to the death, and the ox then chooses

another mate. I have also seen these creatures alive on land. The creature casts its young on land and keeps them there for twelve days, after which it carries them into the sea. This creature has a very rough hide, with white and black spots intermixed, and it is a fierce and dreadful creature to look at, and has the appearance as is shown here.



Item this island of Madagascar lies due south. One can travel in twenty days<sup>1</sup> from the Kingdom of Moabar, where St. Thomas lies, to this island of Madagascar, but one can hardly sail from Madagascar to the Kingdom of Moabar in three months, on account of the great adverse current of the sea from the south. For the sea runs very strong from south to north. Item round about this island of Madagascar one finds in the sea many great snails called *hanip*, in Latin *murex*,<sup>2</sup> from which snails and their shells they obtain very fine red dye with which the purple cloths are dyed, of which many are made there.

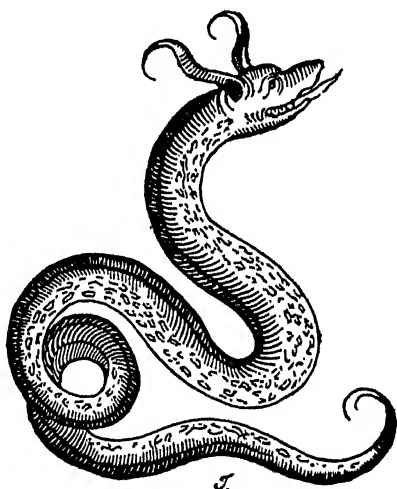
Item from this island of Madagascar we intended to sail in twenty days to Thor, lying on the Red Sea, three and a half days'

<sup>1</sup> Almost literally from Marco Polo, II, p. 412. Waldseemüller (sheet 12) has a legend to the same effect.

<sup>2</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 12) has a legend about the murex and the purple produced from it.



journey from St. Catherine's monastery. But we wished to seek out and learn where the Nile has its origin, as it is said in our country that the Nile flows from Paradise with three other rivers Tigris, Euphrates, and Effraim, whereby we knew that we had left the three rivers on the right hand on the journey here, on the other side of the great Western Sea towards Greater India, and that we had left the Nile flowing on our left hand. We therefore travelled on the left hand from Madagascar to a trading town called Phasagar, 6 days' journey, to the south-west. This is a fine town and lies on terra firma.<sup>1</sup> The people are also quite black in this province and seem to be Christians, since they believe Christ was and still is a man, but that he performs his human labours by travelling round the firmament, and that his head is in Heaven and his feet are on the earth. They have also many images in their churches. Item there are many poisonous snakes in this country, as thick as one's arm, and five or six feet long, of many colours, having on the head two horns. They are called Rinatas in their language, and are like this.



<sup>1</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 11) has Phasagar and a legend: 'hic nascitur Rinatas serpens pessimus qui aquam venenat.' Closer to the Mons Lune is Gamma, Phasagar may possibly reflect a knowledge of Fategar in S. Abyssinia which appears in various early maps.

Item from Phasagar to Gamma, 3 days' journey.  
We travelled overland southwest on hired mules. This is also a fine and large town with black people hereabouts. It is subject to the king of Phasagar and holds the same beliefs. In this town I saw two white elephants and white lions at the king's court, with many other rare animals, but whose pictures I could not obtain, so I leave them.

Item from Gamma to Kobalhar,<sup>1</sup> 4 days' journey.  
We travelled southwest through nothing but deserts. Kobalhar consists of very high mountains rising to the clouds, called in our tongue the Mountains of the Moon.<sup>2</sup>

Item we climbed these mountains for three days, and as we climbed higher it became colder, so that when we reached the summit we found much snow lying there. It was raining heavily while we were on the mountains, and this was in the beginning of the month of June. Whereby it is to be noted that, when it is winter there, it is summer here, and when it is winter here it is summer there. You should observe from this that when it snows, rains and freezes in these mountains without ceasing in June, and the water falls and runs together to the Nile, then the Nile becomes each year very great and, reaching the flat land of Egypt in August, it covers the whole land of Egypt. For at that season the rivers in our country are generally low and in winter all the rivers are high, but in Egypt the Nile is so low that one can almost cross it on foot. Therefore it happens that in the mountains of Kobalhar it is summer, and there is no rain or snow there.

Item as we descended from these mountains to the southwest we came across many pleasant streams rising in the high mountains, which were the real sources of the Nile, flowing southwest, which we followed to Cairo, or to the great sea called

<sup>1</sup> Kobalhar appears on Mercator's World Chart of 1569 near the Mountains of the Moon, but I have found it nowhere else. From Gamma to Beciasa the fifteen place names given by von Harff appear in the same order. See the reproduction of this part of the World Chart in Langenmaier's article mentioned below. It is possible that Mercator used v. Harff's narrative (which may well have had a wide circulation in manuscript) and took it very seriously.

<sup>2</sup> The name, which is given us by Ptolemy in Greek, was probably the translation of some native appellation, but it was adopted by the Arabian geogra-

Mare Mediterraneum. We examined these springs with great attention, so that we could say to those who said the Nile flows from Paradise<sup>1</sup> that we had been there. It was told me however by a learned man: 'Yes, it is possible that the Nile flows underground from Paradise through many countries to this mountain where it has its source.' I answered that I saw no reason against it, as this mountain Kobalhar was very high, and as we climbed it from the south there were many rivers running southwards before our eyes. And as we reached the summit we found the source of these springs which flowed westwards, called the Nile. Now observe: these mountains, reckoning from there, lie on the

phers and became mixed up in their hands with many fables and absurd exaggerations, while among modern geographers it has retained a place upon the map of Africa down to our time, though constantly shifted about to suit the progress of recent discoveries. Bunbury, II, p. 617. It is only in comparatively recent times that we have learnt the curious fact that there really do exist in the neighbourhood of the upper waters of the Nile two mountains of sufficient altitude to be covered with snow through the greater part, if not the whole, of the year, i.e. Kilimanjaro (19,700 ft.) and Kenia (18,370 ft.), Tozer, p. 352. Waldseemüller (sheet 11) shows them as an imposing range stretching half across the map, with two great lakes below, which we should call Victoria and Albert Nyanza. If by June v. Harff means June 1498, he had spent 11 months in journeying since he left Cairo, but the story of his ascent of the Mountains of the Moon is of course fiction (Introd. p. xxvii). It has been suggested by Prof. Langenmaier in Petermanns *Mitteilungen*, vol. 62 (1916), p. 55, that v. Harff is describing the route from S. Abyssinia down the Blue Nile to Catadubba, and so on to Cairo. Langenmaier identifies the Mountains of the Moon with the slopes of the Abyssinian table-land, and places Kobalhar there. The source of the Nile would be Lake Tsana. Langenmaier's attempt to fit v. Harff's places into this route seems to be rather far-fetched, but his reproductions of old maps of the Nile country are very useful. I prefer to assume that, when v. Harff speaks of the Mountains of the Moon, he was using one of the early maps on which they are clearly marked. See also Langenmaier, *Lexikon zur alten Geographie*, pp. 52, 66.

<sup>1</sup> The literature of the Terrestrial Paradise, as Yule says, would probably fill a respectable library. The story about the Nile running underground from India to Ethiopia is in Mandeville (p. 30). He also describes the course of the Tigris and Euphrates (p. 200), and has much to say about the situation of the earthly paradise, although he did not visit it, not being worthy. Here he was outdone by John of Hese, who claims to have beheld its walls on the summit of a high mountain shining like stars (Zarncke, II, p. 170; *Notes and Queries*, vol. 189, p. 6). Marignolli has much to say on the subject (*Cathay*, III, pp. 196-198). Cp. Kimble, pp. 24-25, 184. In the Hereford Map, Paradise is shown at the head of the map, at the extreme easterly point of the habitable world on an island surrounded by a strong and lofty wall from which flames burst forth. Bevan and Phillott, p. 25.

right hand of the Indian or western sea, called Maure, which lies directly to the South, and the three other rivers Tigris, Effraim and Euphrates lie from there on the left hand, and run east to the western sea, so that the Nile is separated from the others more than forty days' journey. If I were with you I could instruct you better, since I have made many diligent attempts by question, enquiry and experience in all kinds of Christian nations of those countries, where Paradise was to be found, and they all replied with one answer: the name Paradise was unknown in their language. I then asked where Adam and Eve were created. They replied, like the others, in the holy and pleasant province called Jerusalem, which was the centre of the earth, where God chose to make the first creatures, so that they might spread out on all sides. Further God chose that country and made it the land of promise before all other countries. Also that God sent his Son Jesus Christ there to be born in that province, and hung on the Cross there in the centre of the earth, to redeem the whole world. Wherefore Jerusalem was the most holy and most famous pilgrimage place in the world. But I was shown by Christians, Syrians and Jews close to Jerusalem, and taken to a mountain upon which Adam and Eve are said to have broken God's law, of which I will write more hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

Item from this mountain Kobalhar, 3 days' journey.<sup>2</sup>  
We descended this mountain to a large town called Leuma.<sup>3</sup>  
The people are pure blackamoors and wish to be Christians.

Item from Leuma to Hiere, 3 days' journey,  
a fine town. The inhabitants are also blackamoors.

Item from Hiere to Gargijsa,<sup>4</sup> 2 days' journey,  
a town on the Nile.

<sup>1</sup> See below p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that von Harff's itinerary now becomes much briefer, in fact at times little more than a list of place-names. It looks as if, having been deprived of Odoric and Marco Polo, he took his names from a map. Waldseemüller (sheet 11) has most of the names in the same order, and many are in Behaim. See Langenmaier, *Lexikon*, under the various place-names.

<sup>3</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 11) has Suiuma. W. has Hyera. Behaim (sheet 2F.) has Hirii. Ptolemy (Rome 1478-90) has Hyera near Philae.

<sup>4</sup> Waldseemüller has Gargisa. This may be Hargeisa, the important caravan centre in Somaliland.

Item from Gargijsa to Poro, 2 days' journey,  
a fine town lying on a lake four miles long and two wide between high mountains, through which lake the Nile flows swiftly, as one can see plainly, for the Nile always looks dull, whereas the lake-water is green.

Item from Poro to Aschnachua,<sup>1</sup> 1 day's journey.  
We travelled along the lake. This is a fine town lying on the same lake. Here we took to a raft and travelled down the Nile.

Item from Aschnachua to Zabarach,<sup>2</sup> 2 days' journey.  
We travelled down the Nile. This is a very fine town in Ethiopia. The people are Christian Abyssinians or Jacobites. They are all circumcised in youth like the Mahomedans, in imitation of our Lord Jesus, who was also circumcised in his youth. In addition they suffer themselves to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead with a cross, in place of our baptism, and think that they are thereby cleansed from sin, according to the words which St. John the Baptist spoke of our Lord Jesus. 'He will baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' They do not confess to men, but to God in heaven in secret in this manner. They put incense and other sweet fragrance on to hot coals and make their confession, thinking that their sins will be carried to God in heaven, so that they may be known and forgiven. They also believe and say that there was only one nature in Christ and one person only, meaning that our blessed Lady was Christ's mother, but not the mother of God. Further, when they bless themselves with the holy Cross, they use only one finger of the hand, signifying one nature, which they affirm and believe is in Christ. They consecrate the holy sacrament with bread like the Greeks, which they administer daily to old and young, even to those still at the mother's breast.

Item the Ethiopians, called Abyssinians or Jacobites, have their own king called Thodar, who has many kingdoms, fine towns and countries subject to him, and keeps his court always

<sup>1</sup> Waldseemüller has Asnagna.

<sup>2</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 11) has Zarbara. Behaim (2 F.) has Zabara.

in this town of Nubia. These Ethiopians have their own language, of which the alphabet is written below.<sup>1</sup>

alpha weda gama delda e zso syeta

Δ Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ

heda theda joda kaba laude men nyn

Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν

axi off by ku syma thaff he

Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ

ffy chy ebsi o schey vey

Φ Χ Ψ Ω

hachi hori gensa syma dy

Β Ζ Δ Γ

Item from Zabara to Pascar,<sup>2</sup>  
a town: we travelled westwards down the Nile.

1 day's journey,

Item from Pascar to Jherua,  
a town: we continued travelling westwards all the time. This town is also subject to the Thodar of Nubia.

4 days' journey,

Item from Jherua to Bara,  
lying on the river Nile, Christian people.

3 days' journey,

Item from Bara to Cabae, a town,

3 days' journey.

Item from Cabae to Sosa,  
a town on the Nile. But these towns are not fortified with walls,

4 days' journey,

<sup>1</sup> The alphabet, which is identical with that in Breydenbach (who calls it Coptic: Davies, plate 41), is not Ethiopic. It is a badly-written set of Greek uncials. The names are freakish. There appear to be one or two Russian letters in the last line. I am indebted for this note to the School of Oriental and African Studies.

<sup>2</sup> Waldseemüller has Pasca, Jerua, Bara, Caba, Ssosa, and Zaragua, with a river running into the Nile on the right of Pilei Mons.

ditches and towers like our towns, but are great wide places with many people in them.

Item from Sasa to Zaragua, 4 days' journey. This is a fine and powerful Christian town subject to the great Thodar of Nubia, who at times holds his court here. On the way, as we were travelling down the Nile, we saw on the right hand a river running into the river Nile.

Item from Zarachua to Cattadubba,<sup>1</sup> a town, one German mile, we travelled by land, since it is not possible to travel down further on account of the high mountains, since the river Nile has to descend there through narrow rocks with such noise and uproar that the people living there are more than half deaf. Also this same king could stop the flow of the Nile, so that it would run down to the left and not through Egypt, beside Cairo. In order that this should not happen the Sultan has to pay to this Thodar, or King of Ethiopia, a great yearly tribute. Further, when these Christian Abyssinians, or Jacobites, as they are called, come from this province to Jerusalem, or to the Sultan's country they pay no tribute and go with banners unfurled to Jerusalem into the Temple of Christ, without paying tribute, and no injury must be done to them lest the river Nile should be stopped.

Item here across the Nile, to the southwest, lies another

<sup>1</sup> Cattadubba must have been taken from one or other of the early writers, for such a Greek word would hardly have been heard on the spot. It is strange that von Harff mentions this cataract, and says nothing about the more important ones. If he had been there he would scarcely have called it a town. The name is not in Waldseemüller or Behaim. The story that the Nile makes people deaf is in Cicero (*Som. Scip.* 5) and was frequently repeated. Cp. Mandeville, p. 201. The story of the threat to stop the Nile is told by Jordanus (*Mirabilia*, p. 40) and referred to by Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xxxiii, 106). Cp. Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 223. Tafur (p. 93) heard much the same story from de' Conti. Ghistele (p. 156) reports that Prester John had power to change the course of the Nile, which would ruin the land of Egypt, and that the Sultan therefore sent him gifts each year. Further that Prester John's subjects had many privileges in the Sultan's land. They could enter the Holy Sepulchre without payment and could wear a cross openly round their necks or carry a cross in their hands.

province with its own speech called Ethiopia sub Egypto,<sup>1</sup> in which dwell many Mahometans, having their own king who is subject to the Lord of Thonis from Barbary, but this side of the Nile on which we travelled is Christian as far as Antinore, a town.

Item from Cattadubba to Beziasa, a town, two days' journey: we travelled by land. Here we took to a small boat and travelled down the Nile.

Item from Beziasa to Dara,<sup>2</sup> 2 days' journey. This town lies on a large island in the middle of the Nile, called Meroe. On the way we saw eastwards, on the right hand, a river flowing here down into the river Nile.

Item from Dara to Esser, 2 days' journey. This is a fine town lying on the Nile. The people are all called Christian Abyssinians.

Item from Esser to Schatolea, 3 days' journey, a town lying also on the island called Meroe. Item in this island Meroe we saw in the town many animals called gazelles,<sup>3</sup> or in their language *mismir*, which we saw also on the island of Madagascar. These animals are in appearance and size like a goat, but with rough reddish hair and having two teeth in the mouth in front, which are somewhat longer than the others. They eat always good herbs, spice, nard, rhubarb, and the herb of the ginger roots, from which their blood acquires a sweet smell. At certain times, from the superfluity of blood, they produce boils on their flanks which irritate them so that they rub the boils off

<sup>1</sup> The use of the term Ethiopia sub Egypto to denote the tract west of the Nile in the latitudes covered by Nubia shows that v. Harff must have been familiar with one or more of the contemporary Ptolemy maps, MS. or printed. It was Ptolemy's name for the whole tract above (i.e. south of) Egypt, as far east as the sea coast, but in the Rome Ptolemy (1478-1490) and in the Ebner Codex the name is written in west of the river, simply because the area to the east was otherwise filled with names. I am indebted for this note to Mr. Ed. Heawood.

<sup>2</sup> Dara, Esser and Sabatolea (Meröe Island) are all from Ptolemy. The Rome Ptolemy of 1478 and 1490 (Africa, map 4) has Darorum Villa, Eser and Sacolcha; so has the Ebner Codex of c. 1460 (Africa, map 4). See Bibliography under Ptolemy.

<sup>3</sup> This comes probably from Marco Polo (I, p. 275), but the musk deer is confined to the Himalayas and the mountains of China. The animal shown in the drawing seems to be a Barbary sheep.



against a stone or tree, so that they become soft. The superfluous matter then runs out of a consistency like pus, which soon dries in the great heat of the sun, and when collected is veritable sweet-smelling musk. There are those who know well how to take these gazelles. When the boils are full of blood, and the creature wants to rub itself in order to free the blood and obtain relief, they cut off cunningly the blister or boil from the hide, so that the creature suffers no harm, and leave it whole to dry in the sun. This is the best musk. I brought some of these blisters away with me and divided them among my good friends. These animals have this appearance.



'Item from Schatolea to Fiene,<sup>1</sup> a town, 2 days' journey.  
 "On the way was a river coming from the left hand and flowing into the river Nile.

Item from Fiene to Dia, 4 days' journey.

<sup>1</sup> Waldseemüller (sheet 7) and Ebner Codex (Africa, map 3) give Syene: the S might be taken for f. Dia: Waldseemüller has Dios. Dios . . . civita, in Rome Ptolemy and Ebner Codex. Cenobastia, not in Waldseemüller. Chenoboscia in Ptolemy (Rome 1478 and 1490) and Ebner Codex. Pasulus: Waldseemüller has Passulus. Passalus in the Rome Ptolemy (1478 and 1490) and Ebner Codex. Anthinore, not in Waldseemüller. The Rome Ptolemy (1478 and 1490) and Ebner Codex have Antinoi.

We sailed with a good wind down the Nile westwards. This is a fine town lying on the right hand of the Nile.

Item from Dya to Cenobastia, 2 days' journey.  
This is a fine large town on the right hand of the Nile, lying beneath a very high mountain.

Item from Cenobastia to Passulus, a town, 2 days' journey,

Item from Passulus to Anthinore, 2 days' journey.  
a fine town. Item here live only Mahomedans, subject to the Sultan. In this country one finds parrots, of which I saw many flying when travelling down the Nile.

Item from Anthinore to Cairo, 5 days' journey,  
where the Sultan holds his court. It lies in Egypt, as I have written above.

Item when we came to Cairo the great Thodar, who wished to make himself Sultan, had fled from Egypt to Damascus and captured the province. Therefore, the young Sultan, Kathubee's son had gathered together 4,000 Mamelukes in order to proceed to Damascus to drive out this Thodar. When we heard that they were going this way, through the difficult wilderness called Alhijset, to Damascus, which was our direct route to Jerusalem, we contracted at once with the mokarij, who are drivers of asses and camels, that they should carry us from Cairo to Jerusalem called here Alkotz. Each one had to give six ducats, and they made a writing in the presence of the chief dragoman and two heathen magistrates. We provided ourselves with provisions and all things necessary, in order to travel with these Mamelukes through the wilderness of Alhijset.

Item from Cairo by land to Jerusalem is some twelve days' journey, as described hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

Item the 2nd day of November in the year 99 [98], at evening, we left Cairo with 4,000 Mamelukes. We had been joined by a *gaffera* or caravan, that is a company of merchants and others who assemble together each month to cross the wilderness of

<sup>1</sup> For the journey from Cairo to Jerusalem see Symon Simeonis, 1323 (pp. 63 ff.); Ibn Battuta, 1326 (pp. 53 ff.). Ghistele (pp. 131 ff.) made the journey in the opposite direction in 1482. He says that the distance from Gaza to Cairo was 11 or 12 riding days, p. 132.

Alhijset, by reason of the wild Arabs who rob persons daily. In this caravan there were Christians, Turks, heathens, Jews, Tartars and other nations on horses, camels, donkeys and on foot, more than 3,000 persons, so that together we were more than 7,000. We travelled as far as Alkangi,<sup>1</sup> three German miles from Cairo, through Materya, a village where the balsam grows. Alkangi is a fine town, but these towns are not walled, only many houses and people close together. Item the German Mameluke called Conrad, born at Basel, who had been my dragoman, travelled with these Mamelukes as a soldier, with whom I remained the whole time until we reached a town called Gazera. He informed me as to all matters and occurrences, how that each of these soldiers, or Mamelukes, receives a hundred and fifty ceraphin (that is ducats) for equipment, and in addition each month twelve ceraphin well and truly paid. Each Mameluke must have three horses, on one of which he rides, on the second a little black boy, who has beneath him a small tent, meal and other necessary provisions. The third horse goes empty and is led by the boy, so that if a horse becomes tired it can take its place. In addition he has to carry with him two hand-bows with quiver and arrows, a sword, a spear and an iron club, which the boy helps to carry. I was also told that when a lord sends them into the field he must give them as much as when he is first chosen. He has to give each Mameluke a hundred ducats, and that as often as a new lord is chosen. They ride in this manner (p. 183).

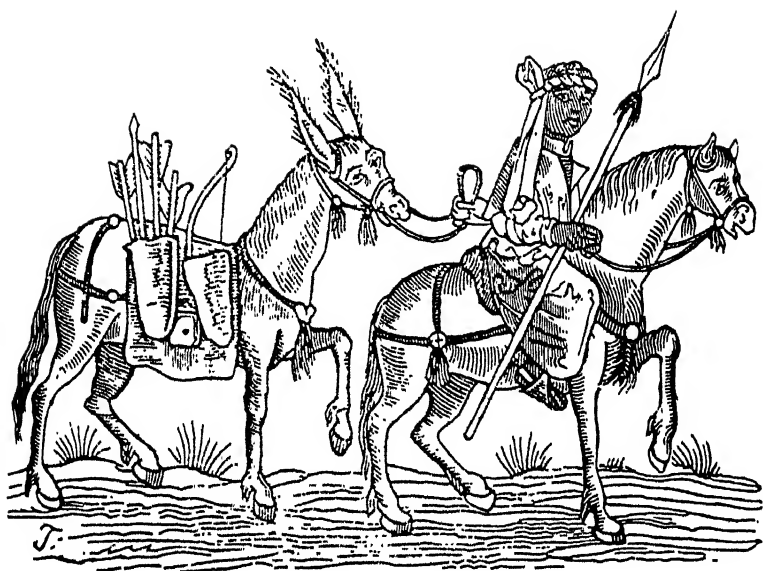
Item from Alkangi to Balbees,<sup>2</sup> a town, 1 day's journey.

Item from Balbeas to Salheyo,<sup>3</sup> a town, 2 days' journey. In half-a-day we reached the desert called Alhyset, which continues for six days as far as Gazera. This lies very low and in thin sand, which is moved quickly by every light wind and made into great hills, and the next day it may happen that the hill is carried with another wind some two German miles from the place.

<sup>1</sup> Al Kangi = El Chankan, close to Matarea.

<sup>2</sup> Balbees = Balbeis, 35 miles N.E. of Cairo. Cp. Ghisteles, p. 137 (Burbays).

<sup>3</sup> Salheyo = Salihich, some 35 miles N.E. of Balbeis. Ghisteles (p. 136) calls it 'een schoon dorp', surrounded by date trees. He and his company bought there all they wanted, bread, meat, fish and fruit.



Item we found in this desert, from one day's journey to another, a desert-built house and a well by it, which was much ruined, which a Sultan had caused to be built so that one could find water in each day's journey. But this water from the wells was very salt, which was surprising, as they were far from the sea. I was told that it seldom rains in those parts, and so seldom that the rain-water itself, with the burning sun, falls into the hot sand, and the great heat of the sun makes the water salty, just as in winter time the great cold turns the water to ice. For this reason the water was salty. At night, by the light of the stars, we saw something glittering in the sand like gold. This was the rain-water congealed by the great heat of the sun, and between Cairo and St. Catherine's monastery, we found often in the wilderness large pieces lying by the mountains, a span long and thick, which was salt, good for cooking. Item in this desert, as we camped, we found running in the sand great lice like dogs' teeth<sup>1</sup> which bit very strongly, so that it happened often to me that I had great boils like nuts. I smeared myself at once with the juice of olive apples which we took with us for that purpose and they soon disappeared. As we camped for the night the lords set up their tents in the sand, and in front of them they hung burning lamps filled with oil on a standard like a cross, so that if anyone became belated or tired he might find them again at night.

Item when we first entered the wilderness we divided our selves into five parts, the Mamelukes in four parts. One band went forward half a day's journey, and one stayed behind, and two remained together, each one half a day's journey from the other. Between them went we, the merchants and others, who were in the *gaffera* or caravan. This was because of the great company of people, lest one should not find sufficient water each night.

Item from Salheyo to Kathia,<sup>2</sup> 3 days' journey.  
We travelled through the deep sandy deserts. This is a great village lying in the desert belonging to the wild Arabs who live

<sup>1</sup> Ghistele (p. 135) speaks of the worm called *Pedoties Pharaonis*, from which the travellers suffered greatly. The remedy was lemon juice.

<sup>2</sup> Kathia = Katiyeh, about 50 miles N.E. of Salihich. Cp. Ghistele (p. 135). It was a little village with many wealthy people living there (although it seemed poor from the outside) with an abundance of livestock.

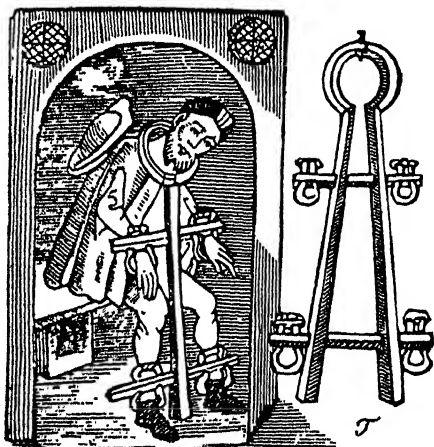
on certain date plantations, of which great numbers grew in the hot sand, in plantations of some forty or fifty acres, beneath which the wild Arabs live beside the trees in small huts like wild beasts.

Item from Kathia to Gazera,<sup>1</sup>

5 days' journey.

We travelled through the deserts where we found neither leaf, grass nor men dwelling there. But we saw there much wild scrub, whereon were cotton trees with great pods hanging, on which the wild Arabs support themselves, picking them in great clusters. Inside is curled up a hard thing, like a dead worm, which they extract with great care and labour, after which they prepare it and sell it in great heaps in our country, but it comes first to land at Venice.

Item at Gazera we left the deserts at a customs house where we had to pay tribute, and there begins the Promised Land. Here the Mamelukes left us with their army and went on the left hand to Damascus, which was a great misfortune for us, for as soon as we came to Gazera the Armareyo, who is the governor of the town, a Mameluke, seized us and imprisoned us in irons with neck, hands and feet, for three weeks, without unlocking us in this manner.<sup>2</sup>



Item, what was the reason that we were treated like this, and

<sup>1</sup> Gazera = Gaza. Cp. Ghistele, p. 132. There is a moving description of the desert between Gaza and Katyeh in Ghistele p. 134. It was the worst possible track for the laden beasts, which were up to their knees in hot sand. The heat was scarcely to be borne.

<sup>2</sup> Many travellers at this time suffered imprisonment and ill-treatment although most of them escaped on payment of bribes. Cp. e.g. the experiences of Jörg von Ehingen, p. 25, and Rieter, p. 124; and at a later date (1566) the misfortunes of Melchior von Seydlitz, *Röhricht*, p. 227. Ghistele and his companions were taken prisoners at Aden, but were released on payment of 100 ducats (p. 207). Certain of Casola's companions were imprisoned in Jerusalem, p. 270.

what we had to suffer, and the things we were forced to do, and how God helped us, would be a wonderful history, and in some points what no Christian ought to suffer, but it would take too long to write, and therefore I leave it aside. But I would advise every pilgrim or merchant, who wishes to travel in heathen parts, not to refuse to pay duty, if so advised, by Christians, Jews or Heathens, since one must pay courtesy or duty at every town or village: further to beware of associating with heathen women, also with Jews who live in those parts and know our tongue well, who deceive, betray and ruin us.

Item when God had helped us we travelled from Gazera to Hebron, 2 days' journey.

The first day's journey was through a beautiful, flat, fruitful land, through many villages, and the next day through small, fruitful but stony mountains. Item Hebron lies by a mountain, a town without walls.<sup>1</sup> Here live many good Christians of the Syrians who have their own church there. There is also in this town a fine mosque or heathen church, into which I was taken in the evening. We saw in it innumerable lamps burning and went below into a crypt, also full of hanging lamps, wherein the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and others lie buried in costly coffins.<sup>2</sup>

Item we were taken below Hebron southwards into a little valley where there was a hole in a stony mountain, which we entered. Here Adam lived first with Eve when they were driven out of Paradise.<sup>3</sup> Close by, in a valley, was a reddish field from which God is said to have created Adam.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Hebron see Fabri, II, p. 408; Robinson, II, pp. 431 ff.

<sup>2</sup> These are beneath the floor of the Haram or Sanctuary. Christians were rigorously excluded. Benjamin of Tudela (p. 25) states that for a special reward Jews could enter, and he describes the graves. Fabri and his party (II, p. 416) could get no further than the foot of the steps outside the mosque where they performed their devotions. Cp. Ludolph (p. 92) who seems to have got into the mosque to the steps of the cave; Boldensele, p. 258. The graves were opened in 1119. See *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XVII, pp. 115 and 238.

<sup>3</sup> The cave was supposed to be that mentioned in Genesis xxiii. Mandeville (p. 45) adds 'and there got they there children'. Cp. Fabri (II, p. 414) who says there were two caves, one of weeping for Abel (where traces could still be seen of the place where they sat) and the cave where they cohabited.

<sup>4</sup> Fabri (II, p. 412) learnt that if a pilgrim carried some of this earth he would never tire, nor would his beast stumble or fall. A legend that the more

Item from Hebron to Bethlehem, seven Italian miles, we travelled by an evil stony way. On the way we saw a fine, walled canal by a mountain leading from Hebron to Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> which in old times the king of Jerusalem had caused to be built in order that Jerusalem might have sweet water, for there is none there. Item in Bethlehem we went to the monastery and lodged there with two Latin observants, who had been sent from Jerusalem to keep open the monastery there.

Item in the morning the two brothers went with us in procession to show us all the holy places.

Item we went first from the transepts into the church.<sup>2</sup> By the high altar, on the right hand, is an altar, which is the altar on which our Lord Christ Jesus was circumcised. In this place is absolution for all sins from penalty and guilt. Item beyond, on the left side of the choir, is an altar where the Three Kings made ready to bring gifts to the new-born child Jesus Christ. There are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item not far from this altar on the left hand, some four paces, one goes down a stone stair with eleven steps beneath the choir altar. There is a beautiful little chapel covered all over above and below very

the earth was dug up the more the field filled up of its own accord is mentioned by many pilgrims. Ludolph, p. 92; Anonymous, p. 38. The earth was 'rede and flexible and toughe as wex'. Guylforde, p. 54. The tradition that Adam was created at Hebron was probably connected with his burial there.

<sup>1</sup> This famous aqueduct, which carried water to Jerusalem is said to have been constructed by Pontius Pilate. Cp. Ludolph, p. 97 and Boldensele, p. 261; also Robinson, I, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 589. Travellers agree that the church—the only Basilica of Constantine left standing in Palestine—was very beautiful although decayed. Guylforde (p. 36) 'never saw nor herde of a fayrer lytell church' in all his life. Ludolph (p. 94) reports that it was fortified with towers and outworks like a castle. He noted 70 precious marble columns, a lead roof and wood and beams, and planks of cedar. The walls were gilded under glass and wrought with painted glass. Casola (p. 263) counted 44 columns: those in the nave were so thick that a man could not put his arms round them. There was a story that the Sultan tried to carry off the pillars for his palace at Cairo, but a huge fiery serpent appeared out of the earth and frightened the masons away. Guylforde (p. 36) saw the place where the serpent ran along the wall, which was scorched as with fire. Cp. Fabri, I, p. 598; Poloner, p. 20; Ghiste, p. 88. Sandys (p. 138) gives a plan of the monastery and church. See Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 5th ed., p. 102.



beautifully with marble-stones.<sup>1</sup> Above the high altar in this chapel, against the arch, is a golden star. This is the place where our blessed Lady brought Jesus Christ into the world. Here there is forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt. Item to the right of this altar, some four paces away, is an altar below a hewn-out rock. Here the Three Holy Kings offered to the new-born child, and in front of this same altar the rock is also hewn out and now covered with beautiful white marble stones. This was the manger<sup>2</sup> of the asses and oxen, in which Christ was laid wrapped in swaddling clothes. In this place there is forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt. Item at the end of this chapel, westwards, is a round hole. It is said that here the star fell which led the Three Holy Kings to the town.<sup>3</sup>

Item one goes further from this chapel westwards to a cave in which lie the innocent children who were slain by order of Herod.<sup>4</sup> Here there are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item from the transept one enters a cave down eighteen steps, where is a chapel called St. Jerome's chapel. Here there is a hewn grave in which St. Jerome lay for a long time after his death. Also in this chapel St. Jerome translated the Bible from the Hebrew language into the Greek tongue, and from the Greek tongue into Latin.<sup>5</sup> In this chapel are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item this monastery was as beautifully built and as fine and

<sup>1</sup> Most travellers from Phocas (1185) downwards notice the fine frescoes and mosaics. Warner's ed. of Mandeville, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> It was said that the hay from the manger was taken to Rome by the Empress Helena and bestowed on the church of S. Maria Maggiore.

<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned by Poloner (p. 19) as close to the altar of the Magi. Gregory of Tours has a legend that the star was still to be seen there, but only by the pure in heart. *Lib. Mirac.* Migne, lxxi, p. 707. Cp. Fabri (1, p. 563) who had heard several people assert that they had seen it.

<sup>4</sup> Mandeville (p. 47) calls it the charnel of the Innocents. Fabri (1, p. 565) searched in the dust for relics, but the faithful had long since carried them away. According to Fabri a regular trade was done in infants' bodies. The Saracens and Mamelukes collected the bodies of still-born children or children who had died soon after birth, slashed them with knives, embalmed them and sold them to Christian kings and princes as the bodies of Herod's victims.

<sup>5</sup> See Ludolph, p. 94; Fabri, 1, p. 553. Poloner (p. 20) says that the saint laboured there for 55 years and 6 months translating the Scriptures.

noteworthy as could be found in Christendom, but the heathen have now wholly destroyed it.<sup>1</sup> There are twelve pillars still standing in the church made entirely of marble and in addition, above and below, all was covered with marble stones.

Item between this monastery and the town lies the Campus Floridus.<sup>2</sup>

Item from Bethlehem we travelled eastwards to seek the Holy City. Close behind this monastery is a cave in which our blessed Lady hid with Christ, her son, when Herod caused all the innocent children to be massacred. In this cave one finds white earth like unslaked lime. If pregnant women, who wish for quick delivery, take a spoonful of this earth mixed with wine or water they are said forthwith to be delivered. If women at child birth, find their milk run dry and partake of it, then forthwith the milk is said to return. This earth is fetched by the heathen and Jewish women, who put great trust in it.<sup>3</sup>

Item, as one descends this mountain still further eastwards, are the old ruined remains of a church. This is the place to which Mary, the mother of God, fled with Jesus Christ on account of Herod from the Promised Land into Egypt, but not knowing the way she was met by an Angel at this place, who showed her the right way into Egypt, which way we followed from Cairo through the desert of Alhyset.

Item descending further an Italian mile, we found another ruined church called after St. Nicholas. Inside are still the graves of St. Paula and St. Eustacius, the hermit. Here are seven

<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the fifteenth century the church was threatened with ruin, but it was restored at the expense of the friars. Fabri (I, p. 603) reports that the upper part was profaned and desecrated, and that the precious pictures were dropping from the walls, and recounts the difficulties with which the brethren were faced, as the Sultan refused permission to repair it. Ghistele (p. 88) reports that repair work was carried out by a Dutch craftsman from Brabant. In his time (1482) the inner church was very beautiful and adorned in many places with gold and azure and histories in mosaic.

<sup>2</sup> Medieval accounts of the Campus Floridus vary considerably. Guylforde (p. 35) repeats the story (Mandeville, p. 46) of the innocent maiden who was to be burnt there, but the flames turned to roses.

<sup>3</sup> This was the grotto where the Virgin Mary chanced to let fall some of her milk which oozed forth from the stone. Pilgrims caught the drops as they fell, and this was how the blessed Virgin's milk was shown in churches in Europe. Fabri, I, p. 564. The more it was scraped off, the more it oozed forth.

years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item close by is a little hill where David slew the giant Goliath with the sling.<sup>1</sup>

Item not far off, at the side, is also an old ruined church called after our blessed Lady. This is the place where the Angel announced to the shepherds the birth of Christ. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item we went further to an old house, which was the house of Zacharias, in which our blessed Lady greeted St. Elizabeth and also blessed her when she fled into Egypt, saying: *magnificat anima mea dominum*. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Also in this house Zacharias called for a writing tablet, on which he wrote that his son should be called John, and composed here the psalm: *benedictus dominus deus Israel*.<sup>2</sup>

Item we went further a short distance to a little hill, on which is a small ruined chapel where St. John was born.<sup>3</sup> Here there is absolution from penalty and sin.

Item we came to an old house where the elder Simon lived, who took Jesus Christ in his arms in the temple at Bethlehem when he was presented. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item we went further towards Jerusalem and came to a monastery of the Holy Cross, wherein Greek monks called Coleuri now live.<sup>4</sup> Behind the altar of the monastery was a root, from which grew the wood on which our Lord Jesus offered up his life.

Item from this monastery we returned to Bethlehem to fetch our goods.

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical tradition placed this encounter in the valley of Elah (Terebinth). Cp. Fabri, I, p. 279; Guylforde, p. 38; Robinson, II, pp. 145, 350.

<sup>2</sup> According to tradition Zacharias, who was rich, had two houses in this district, a lower and an upper house, the latter being regarded as the birth-place of John the Baptist. When her time drew near Elizabeth withdrew to the upper house, while Zacharias remained in the other, since in those days men did not dwell in the house of pregnant women at the time of their childbed. Fabri, I, p. 632; Walther, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> The scene of St. John's birth was on the left hand in a chapel in the choir, the doorway being blocked by the ruins of the walls. Fabri and his companions (I, p. 639) climbed in on each others shoulders, but although the church was lofty and vaulted and still painted, it was full of cattle, asses and camels, and there was nought there save dung and filth.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient monastery of Der el-Musallabe, S.W. of Jerusalem. Fabri, II, p. 1; Walther, p. 186.

Item from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, 1 German mile, eastwards across a great hill.<sup>1</sup> We came first to a fine walled tomb with tabernacles lying on the left hand, where Rachel, the wife of the Patriarch Jacob, lies buried, and where in the old days he dwelt with her.<sup>2</sup> The heathen make great pilgrimages and gifts to this place, and on the tomb the Patriarch Joseph caused twelve tabernacles to be set up in memory of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.

Item not far off we came to a field lying on the left hand, where we found countless stones shaped like sesame or three-cornered peas. I was told that they were made by a miracle, that Christ is said to have gone from Jerusalem to Bethlehem and to have asked a husbandman, who was sowing sesame seeds, what he was sowing. The husbandman, who did not recognise Christ, gave a mocking answer that he was sowing stones. Forthwith they became stones, and to this day the field brings forth nothing but stones.<sup>3</sup>

Item we went further, and about half-way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, on the left hand, is an ancient building. Here the Angel took Habakkuk by the hair and carried him to Babylon, which is called Cairo, to the lions' den, where Daniel the prophet was imprisoned.<sup>4</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, not far off, on the right hand, is a church where the prophet Helyas was born.<sup>5</sup> Here there are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item we con-

<sup>1</sup> Casola (p. 262) says that the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem was the most beautiful he saw in those parts, there were so many beautiful things there, grapes, figs and olives. Ghistele (pp. 89, 90) also speaks of the trees and fruit which flourished there, also of the vineyards.

<sup>2</sup> See Fabri, I, p. 546; II, p. 196; Ludolph, p. 97; Poloner, p. 18. According to Benjamin of Tudela (p. 25) all Jews that passed that way carved their names on a pillar there. Casola (p. 262) says that the tomb was beautiful and much honoured by the Moors. The site at Kubbet Rahil is now covered with a modern building, preserving, however, part of the ancient structure. Cp. Robinson, II, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> The story is related by Fabri, I, p. 545. Cp. Poloner, p. 19, but is usually associated with the Campus Floridus.

<sup>4</sup> And gave him his dinner there. *Apocrypha, History of Bel and the Dragon*, xix, 34. Cp. Ludolph, p. 122, and Fabri, I, p. 543.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 542. He doubts the truth of the legend, since Elijah was a Tishbite, denoting that he was born at Tishbah in Gilead.

tinued and came close to Jerusalem, and about a quarter of a mile from it, in the road, there are four cisterns. This is the place where the star reappeared to the Three Holy Kings, which they had lost on the way to Jerusalem. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item, half a mile further to Jerusalem, we went to lodge with the observants of Mt. Sion, where they have a very fine monastery.<sup>1</sup> Item they received us honourably and well, gave us our own room by the gates on the left hand, with a bed to lie on, and offered us good food to eat and wine to drink, such as we had not seen for a year and a half, for our sleeping had been on the hot sand under the blue sky, our food cakes baked in the hot sand, and our drink stinking water from goat-skins. Item in this monastery I found a German observant born in St. Tron, who went with me daily to visit the holy places, and had the descriptions clearly written down for me.

Item he applied first to the Armareyo, who is the chief ruler of the city of Jerusalem and a Mameluke, that is a renegade Christian, sent by the Sultan, in order to obtain a free pass to enter Christ's Temple and to see all the places in and outside the city as I wished and as often as necessary—for ten ducats.

Item we visited first the holy places in the monastery of Mt. Sion and climbed a little stair in their chapel to the high altar. This is the place where our Lord Jesus ate the Last Supper with his disciples on Holy Thursday. Here is absolution with forgive-

<sup>1</sup> Pilgrims were lodged generally in the Monastery of Mt. Sion, paying when they left 5 to 8 ducats for their accommodation. Röhricht, p. 19, and note 241. Cp. Walther, p. 115. Fabri (I, p. 339) describes the convent as standing in a pleasant, beauteous and lofty place, but the precincts were cramped, the church was small, the cloister narrow and the cells little. There were 24 brethren. Because of the insults and rage of the infidels they had an iron door (noted by Ghistele, p. 73) guarded by savage dogs which barked at strangers. The monastery was in the hands of the Franciscans from 1333 to 1547 when it passed wholly into Moslem hands. Casola (p. 255) complains that the Moors would not let the friars enlarge or repair the convent. Fabri (I, p. 306) reports that there was once an exceeding great church there, but nothing was left save the eastern part used by the brothers as a church. He notes also (II, p. 112) that the air was fresher on Mt. Sion than in Jerusalem and that the chief men used to go there to refresh themselves and to lie down in the church which was always cool, the brethren laying carpets on the pavement for their lordships to recline on.

ness of all sins, both penalty and guilt. Item on the right hand of the high altar is an altar. This is the place where our Lord Jesus, after the Last Supper, washed his disciples' feet. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item we went further outside the chapel, on the right hand, to a chapel which is now walled up, since the heathen will not suffer us Christians to visit it, as David, Solomon and the other kings of Jerusalem are buried beneath it.<sup>1</sup> But we looked through a window into the chapel. This is the place where our Lord, after he had risen, appeared to his blessed Mother and the disciples in the burning fire. Here is forgiveness from penalty and guilt. Item we continued down a small stair to a little chapel, where is the place where Jesus Christ, after he had risen, appeared to his disciples behind closed doors. Here St. Thomas thrust his finger in the blessed side of our Lord Jesus, when he would not believe and thereby believed. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item in the evening, at four o'clock, we were told that they would open Christ's temple for us, so we hurried from Mt. Sion westward from the monastery to Christ's Temple. On the way we visited also the holy places. Item first, as we left the monastery on the right hand, below the monastery, is a small heathen mosque or church, wherein David, Solomon and other kings of Jerusalem are buried, which no Christian may enter, but with the help of my dragoman, a Mameluke, I was taken there. The graves are lofty and finely made, and are served daily with many lights and exquisite perfumes.

Item not far from this mosque 'is the place where the first martyr St. Stephen was buried for the second time.<sup>2</sup>

Item close by here is the summer house where the Easter

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (I, p. 304) was more fortunate, for the Saracen keeper broke the key in the lock and the door was left open. He went in 10 times, but there were no coffins. Solomon had so built the place by mathematical art that no man was able to come at them (p. 302). The Jews believed that vast treasures had been laid up there, which they sought to discover by witchcraft and magic arts. Cp. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 24. Von Harff got in later.

<sup>2</sup> In which his body was deposited after its translation from Caphar Gamala in 415 until its removal to Rome. De Vogüé, p. 326; Fabri, I, p. 309.

Lamb was roasted for the disciples of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Here also the water was heated with which Christ washed the feet of his disciples.

Item close by is also the place where David did penance for a long time because he had ordered the knight, Uriah, to be sent into battle, and placed so that he would be slain, so that he might live in adultery with his wife.<sup>2</sup> As a result, during his great penance, he wrote the seven psalms. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item not far off we found two stones. On one of them Christ, our Lord often stood preaching to his disciples, and on the other the honoured Mother of God sat to hear the heavenly words.

Item we went a little way to the south. Here stood formerly a chapel, which the heathen have thrown down. Here is still a piece of an altar stone on which St. John the Evangelist often read Mass to the Mother of God, after Christ had risen.

Item, close by, a church stood once, where now is a little chapel of built-up stones. Here stood formerly a house in which the Mother of God lived for thirteen years after our Lord Jesus had risen. In this house she also departed this life. Here is absolution with forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt.

Item close by is shown a red stone, which is the place where St. Matthew was chosen to be an Apostle.

Item we went southwards to the house of Caiaphas,<sup>3</sup> which the Armenian Christians have made into a fine monastery called St. Saviour's. In this house Christ our Lord was cruelly scourged, and here he lay for a night, a prisoner, in a dungeon, that is a hole, while the Jews were in council; it stands behind the high altar. On the high altar is a large, thick, ancient stone. This is the stone with which Christ's tomb was closed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Fabri (I, p. 309) there was still on the site an ancient wall, wherein was a long hollow channel leading upwards, as though it were meant to draw up smoke from a fire.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 312 'a dirty underground cave, overhung by a rock'.

<sup>3</sup> According to Poloner (p. 12) this was 187 paces from the stone of denial (Gallicantus).

<sup>4</sup> It was once an exceeding large stone, but the faithful cut it in two, leaving one part near the Holy Sepulchre, while the other was brought to this church and used as a slab for the altar. Fabri, I, p. 319. The priests had to watch carefully to see that the pilgrims did not break off fragments, but a good-sized piece came into Fabri's hands who brought it back to Ulm.

Item outside this monastery, on the left side, on a height, is a tree surrounded by stones. This is the place where the Jews made a fire to warm themselves and also where St. Peter three times denied Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Item, as one goes out of the house of Caiaphas, on the right hand, on the corner, is a stone on which place the Mother of God stood and beheld St. Peter going out of the house weeping bitterly so that he could not see her. Also the Mother of God stood here the whole night weeping, waiting to know what had happened to her beloved child, until morning, when she saw him led out of the house, bound and a prisoner, and cruelly mis-handled. Then she followed after to the house of Pilate.

Item we went further to a church called the Angels' church<sup>2</sup> which was the house of Annas, the bishop. It is owned by the Armenian Christians. Here God was first brought before Annas, where he was struck on his blessed cheek and mocked in many ways.

Item we went further to the place where St. Peter, after the third denial, fled from the house of Caiaphas to a cave, where he wept bitterly. Item we came then to the main entrance of the city of Jerusalem. There is the place where the Jews sought to take the body of our blessed Lady from the twelve apostles, which they wanted to carry to the valley of Jehoshaphat to be buried.<sup>3</sup>

Item we went further to the Temple of our Lord Jesus. There were sitting four of the head-men of the city, who un-

<sup>1</sup> Ludolph (p. 109) reports that a marble pillar stood on the place as an everlasting memorial. In Fabri's time (I, p. 314) the rock beneath which St. Peter sat weeping was becoming smaller daily, as pilgrims broke off pieces of it and carried them away. Wey (p. 40) adds: 'in foramine parietis altius quam est homo, jacet lapis ille, super quem stetit gallus quando cantavit ter antequam negavit Petrus Christum'. Dietrich von Schachten (1491: Röhricht-Meisner, p. 198) also saw this stone, but he calls it a column. The place was marked in the twelfth century by the chapel of St. Peter 'ad Gallicantum'. De Vogüé, p. 331. On the tree, see Walther, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> 'A fair enough church of the Armenians, well adorned with lights and lamps, and having four round pillars.' Poloner, p. 13. Fabri, (I, p. 314) calls the monks, 'Eastern Christians, black and respectable men'.

<sup>3</sup> Dietrich von Schachten (1491: Röhricht-Meisner, p. 197) adds that those who sought to take the body were smitten with blindness and fell to the ground.



locked the Temple for us, and when we had entered it was forth-with locked again.<sup>1</sup>

Item this Temple of Christ is a round building, and inside, between the pillars, it is about seventy-three feet broad, and the aisle from the pillars to the walls, where the aisle is railed, is ten feet wide.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Von Harff was fortunate in not visiting the church with the usual crowds of pilgrims, for conditions on those occasions were not conducive to reverence or comfort. The pilgrims were locked up in the church for the night, and the church, particularly in Holy Week, with its shops and booths resembled a fair. Ludolph (p. 106). Pilgrims were pestered by hawkers selling cloth, charms, rings, rosaries, crosses, relics, and foodstuffs. The less devout ran hastily round the holy places and then sat down, swilling wine and stuffing themselves with food, as if the church were a tavern. Fabri, II, pp. 83, 84. When Walther v. Guglingen was there in 1482 more than 2,000 pilgrims of both sexes were locked up there. Walther, p. 143. Pilgrims complain of the filth and bad smells, and of fleas and lice. When we realise that some had been hired to make the pilgrimage for others, who did not wish to face discomfort and danger themselves, and that the professional pilgrims were often persons of bad character, it is not surprising that there were scenes of disorder which horrified the devout. At times the church must have resembled a bear-garden or worse. Pilgrims broke off fragments from the holy places and scribbled on the walls. Nor did the priests set a good example to the others. They quarrelled over vestments and the right to celebrate mass. Fabri (I, 383) gives a most unedifying description of a fight between priests over a surplice, and as late as 1697 Maundrell reports that the Father Guardian showed him a great scar on his arm, the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest in one of these unholy wars. Maundrell adds that after 1690, in order to put an end to these unseemly quarrels, only Latins were allowed to solemnize any public office of religion in the church. *A Journey from Aleppo*, 1697, Oxford, 1714, pp. 70, 71. See generally Röhrich, pp. 20, 21, who adds: 'Das Gotteshaus ward eine Stätte des Unflats, und des Gestankes, zuweilen sogar zu einem Bordell herabgewürdigt, da nach einem alten Aberglauben in der Kirche erzeugte Kinder Glückskinder seien.' The last statement seems scarcely credible, but Röhrich gives his authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Von Harff's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which comprises within its walls almost all the spots associated with the closing career of our Lord, does not differ from the descriptions of other travellers. For a plan see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 5th ed., p. 36. The best succinct account known to me of about the same period is by Casola (1494), pp. 275-278, the fullest is Fabri's (1480-1483), I, pp. 398 ff. Breydenbach's *Itinerarium* (1483) was the first to be printed with views of the places visited (reproduced in H. W. Davies, *B. von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land*, 1911). Guylforde (p. 24) describes the church as 'after the fourme and makynge of the Temple at London, saffe it is fer excedynge in gretenesse and hath wondermanyyles, crowdes and vautes, chapels and dyvvysons hyghe and lowe in greate noubre; and mervell it is to se the many dyfferences and secrete places within the sayde temple'. Cp. Ghistele, pp. 85, 86 and Walther, p. 143 ff. See generally Jeffery, *A brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre*, 1919.

Item we went first into a chapel of our blessed Lady. Here live two observant brothers sent from the monastery of Mt. Sion, who have to remain locked up there all day, and food and drink is brought to them daily from Mt. Sion, which is pushed in through a hole in the door.

Item in this chapel of our blessed Lady, where the high altar stands, is the place where Christ appeared first to his worthy Mother after he had risen. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, on the right hand of this altar in our blessed Lady's choir, is a grated window. Inside is a piece of the pillar at which Christ our Lord was scourged.<sup>1</sup> The pillar is a span and about three fingers thick, and is four-and-a-half spans high. At this place is absolution with forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt. Item on the left hand of the high altar is an altar, which is the place where the holy Cross stood for a long time, after the holy virgin St. Helena found it, and above the altar, in a window, there is a piece of the holy Cross. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, in the middle of this chapel, there is, on the ground, a white marble circle. This is the place where St. Helena sought for the three crosses which were found together, but they did not know which was the Cross of our Lord Jesus until they made trial with a dead woman,<sup>2</sup> who was laid on the three crosses, but when she was laid on our Lord Jesus' Cross, then forthwith she awoke from the dead. At this place there are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went next out of this chapel in procession to visit the holy places, each having a lighted candle in his hand. Close by this chapel, about four paces distant on the ground, are two round circles of white marble stones placed five paces from each other. The one circle is the place where our Lord Jesus appeared after he had risen to St. Mary Magdalen in the form of a gardener. Mary Magdalen stood on the other circle, not daring to approach nearer to him. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

<sup>1</sup> Casola (p. 260) says that the marks of the blows could be seen upon it. Fabri (I, p. 349) noted red spots on it. The column was formerly shown in the House of Caiaphas, but was brought here in the time of the Crusades.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri (I, p. 350) says it was a man who was restored to life. Ludolph (p. 106) says the same, so does the *Golden Legend*, III, p. 173.

Item we went about and came to a little chapel hewn out of the rock. In it is an altar. This is the place where our Lord Jesus was kept a prisoner while they prepared the cross for him. At this place are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we came to a small chapel on the left hand. By the altar is the place where the Jews cast lots for our Lord's raiment. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further to a door on the left hand. Here we descended a stone staircase thirty steps to a chapel called after St. Helena. At the end, where the altar is, St. Helena said her prayers daily.<sup>1</sup> Beside the same altar on the right is a window. Here St. Helena waited to watch the grave-diggers who sought the holy Cross, which was found there. In this chapel are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went down eleven stone steps to a little cave hewn out of the rock. In it, on the right hand, is a hole in the rock twenty-two feet long. Here were found the holy Cross, the crosses of the two malefactors, the spear, the nails, and the crown of thorns, 307 years after Christ's birth.<sup>2</sup> Here is forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt.

Item we again climbed these two stone staircases and came on the left hand to a chapel. Beneath the altar is a round red marble column upon which Jesus our Lord sat in Pilate's house, when they mocked him, spat in his blessed face and pressed a crown of thorns on his holy head.<sup>3</sup> In this chapel there are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went up eighteen steps to the mount of Calvary, which is a fine domed chapel, in which eleven lamps burn con-

<sup>1</sup> According to Fabri (I, p. 360) St. Helena abode there with her maid-servants by day and night until the whole church was finished. It was said that through a window at the N. side one could hear the shrieks of souls in purgatory. Fabri, with his usual common sense, has a more rational explanation. The noise was caused by people in the church above.

<sup>2</sup> For the legend of the finding of the Cross, the nails, etc. see *The Golden Legend*, III, p. 169 ff. According to tradition Helena, the mother of Constantine (d. 326), undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and discovered the Cross and the Sepulchre, but see Robinson, II, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 354, who says that the stone stood in front of Pilate's house, in front of the stable for mules, and that when they wished to crown Jesus with a crown of thorns they rolled it to the Praetorium.

tinually.<sup>1</sup> At the end, eastwards, is the hole cut in the rock in which the holy Cross with our Lord Jesus was set up, which hole is three spans deep and a span broad and is covered with lead, so that no one can break off a piece and take it away.

Item seven spans wide, on the left hand of the hole, is a great rift in the rock from the top to the bottom on the ground, eighteen feet high. This happened at the time when Christ gave up the ghost on the holy Cross.

Item, not far from this rift, going down on the left hand, is an altar where the Latins say mass. This is the place where our blessed Lady, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalen stood, with other holy virgins, as Christ suffered his bitter death.

Item from this hole in which the Cross stood, northwards, about five feet away, is a small round pillar two feet high. This is the place where the good malefactor's cross stood, and southwards, seven feet from the hole, is another small round pillar two feet high, where the wicked malefactor's cross stood. It is to be noted, as it was explained to me, that our Lord Jesus hung on the gallows of the holy Cross with his face to the west and his arms stretched out, the right arm to the north and the left to the south. But it is not clear, from the little distance between the three crosses, that the malefactors hung also with their faces to the west. Our Lord's Cross was much higher than the crosses of the two thieves. So the two malefactors were hanged, as it were, beneath the arms of our Lord Christ, and both turned their faces towards Christ, the one on the right with his face to the south, and the other on the left with his face to the north, as it is here shown (p. 200).

Item from this hole where the holy Cross stood it is some 700 feet to the holy sepulchre.

Item this Mt. Calvary is eighteen feet high above the ground, and is very narrow at the top, and steep, whereby it is to be noted that no one can ascend on horseback.

Item beneath this Mt. Calvary, as one descends the steps

<sup>1</sup> Fabri, I, p. 364 ff.; Walther, p. 142; Casola, p. 260; Ghistele, p. 83; Ludolph, p. 103. Cp. Kinglake *Eothen* (Everyman ed.) p. 122, where the dragoman points out that there is no need to send for horses to ride to Mt. Calvary: 'eccolo! it is upstairs—on the first floor'.



again on the left, is a chapel called after our blessed Lady and St. John, by the place called Golgotha. In this chapel is to be seen the rift which stretches from Mt. Calvary above down to the ground. In the neighbourhood of this rift they found the head of Adam, the first man.<sup>1</sup> This chapel is in the possession of the Georgian Christians. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (i, p. 367) adds the interesting information that the skull was hairless. When d'Anglure was there in 1395 the actual skull was still shown! *Le Saint Voyage*, ed. 1878, p. 26.

Item we continued further to the door by which we entered. About ten paces from this door is shown the place on the ground, marked by a white marble stone with black stone borders, where the mother of God sat lamenting with the body of our Lord Jesus, when he was taken down from the Cross and was about to be taken to the tomb. At this place is forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt.

Item we went further into a fine circular choir, in the midst of which stands the holy sepulchre, which is eight feet long and eight feet wide, and the exterior is set about with marble stones.<sup>1</sup> Above this tomb is a fine, round tabernacle, and higher up, above the tomb, is the vaulted roof of the church, in which is a round hole, so that the holy sepulchre is quite uncovered and open to the sky. The holy sepulchre is a rock, although it is now surrounded with marble stones so that one cannot steal from it. Item, as one first enters the holy sepulchre, one reaches a small chapel, which however is not enclosed within this space, eight feet long and wide. In this is a stone which stands a pace from the holy tomb, on which the angel stood after the resurrection, when the three Marys came on Easter Day to seek Christ, to whom the angel said 'Whom seek ye? He is risen; he is not here. He has gone before to Galilee.'

Item in this small chapel, in front of the holy sepulchre, four lamps are always burning. One creeps next through a low narrow entrance into another small chapel. In this stands the holy sepulchre on the right hand of the chapel walls, surrounded with grey marble stones, three spans high from the pavement and eight feet long. This is also the length of the chapel. This chapel is also closed round about so that no light shines there, but above the holy sepulchre hang nine ampullae with oil which burn continually.

In this chapel I heard Mass read on the holy sepulchre, and

<sup>1</sup> There is a plan of the Holy Sepulchre in Casola, p. 388. Cp. Fabri, I, p. 403, who has a long description. Ludolph (p. 105) says that the stone which covered the sepulchre had 3 holes, through which one could kiss the true sepulchre. This was to guard against relic-hunters. He continues: 'Indeed if Christ's sepulchre could be carried away in grains of sand, it would have been so carried away long ago, even had it been a great mountain, so that scarce one grain of sand would have remained on the spot.'

after Mass I took Communion. After this there came an old knightly brother, called Hans of Prussia, who dubs those pilgrims, who desired it, to be knights.<sup>1</sup> He had ready by him a golden sword and two golden spurs, and asked me if I desired to be a knight. I said yes. He asked me if I was well-born and of noble parents. I replied that I hoped so. He told me to place one foot and then the other on the holy sepulchre. Then he fixed on both the golden spurs and girded the sword on my left side, saying: 'Draw the sword and kneel before the holy sepulchre. Take the sword in the left hand and place two fingers of the right hand on it, and say after me. "As I, a noble knight, have travelled a long and distant way, and have suffered much pain and misfortune to seek honour in the holy land of Jerusalem, and have now reached the place of martyrdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy sepulchre, in order that my sins may be forgiven, and I may live an upright life, so I desire to become here God's knight, and promise by my faith and honour to protect the widows, orphans, churches, monasteries, and the poor, and do no man injustice in his goods, money, friendship or kin, to help to right wrongs, and so bear myself as becomes an honourable knight, so help me God and the holy sepulchre."' When I had repeated this, he took the sword from my hand and struck me with it on my back, saying 'Arise, knight, in honour of the holy sepulchre and the Knight St. George'. May God in Heaven provide that I and the others of my companions, who are knights, or may be created knights, may never break their vows. Amen.

Item we then left the holy sepulchre and went to the true choir of the Temple. There is a round stone raised a little above the ground, having hewn in it a hole a span broad. It is said that this is the centre of the earth, as God himself declared.<sup>2</sup>

Item in this Temple southwards there lie buried king Waldan, Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, also King Melchisedek, and four other kings who held the Holy Land for a long time, some thirty-

<sup>1</sup> This was the most solemn act of the whole pilgrimage. The ceremony was usually performed at night. See Röhricht, p. 21, and long note, 269.

<sup>2</sup> A confused reminiscence of Ezekiel, v, 5. The belief that Jerusalem was the centre of the world was widely held, but the exact spot varied.

eight years and nineteen days in succession.<sup>1</sup> It was lost again by King Gwydo.<sup>2</sup>

Item this temple of Christ was first built by St. Helena, the holy virgin, and there are in it seven nations of Christians.

Item first the Latins, who are now the Observants

Item the observants possess the holy sepulchre. No one can say Mass at the holy sepulchre without permission of the observants, and they keep three lighted ampullae above the holy sepulchre.<sup>3</sup> They also keep in this Temple the chapel to our blessed Lady, in which they have always three lamps burning, and behind this chapel the two brothers have their dwelling, where they eat and drink and sleep. They have also an altar on Mt. Calvary, where they have perpetually three ampullae burning before the hole in which the holy Cross stood. They have also an altar on which a lamp is always burning in St. Helena's chapel, where the holy Cross was found. They have also a lighted lamp, which hangs above the place where the sacred body of our Lord was laid on the knees of his holy Mother.

### Greeks

Item the Greeks possess the great choir in this Temple, which they tend and maintain. They possess also the place in the chapel, which was a dungeon, in which our Lord Jesus was bound and kept while the holy Cross was prepared. Here they

<sup>1</sup> 'Two very humble monuments', Casola, p. 275, and note 86. The tombs survived until 1808 when they were destroyed by the Greeks. De Vogüé, p. 195, but they were ransacked and the bones scattered in the Kharezmian invasion of 1244. Williams, *The Holy City*, I, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Guy de Lusignan, who was king of Jerusalem at the time of Saladin's fatal attack in 1187.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin Christians, that is the brethren of the Convent of Mt. Sion, kept the Sepulchre and most of the holy places. Fabri and other Latin pilgrims had a poor opinion of the others. The Greeks were obstinate in their errors and blasphemies. The Georgians were heretical. The Jacobites erred damnably on many points. The Indians were poor and full of errors, but very fervent. The Syrians were heretics, faithless, treacherous, and thievish. The Armenians were not as bad as the rest, but were tainted with the Greek errors. Fabri, I, p. 430 ff. According to Casola (p. 277) the Jacobite way of chanting the offices provoked laughter rather than anything else. The priests, as they chanted, beat with hammers on a piece of iron. Casola's editor has an interesting note on the Christian sects (pp. 391, 392).



keep always an ampulla burning. They keep also a lamp burning in St. Helena's chapel, where lots were cast for the clothes of our Lord Jesus.

#### Georgians or Jorsy

Item the Georgians possess the cave in which the holy Cross was found, also Mt. Calvary which was given to them in recent years. They possess also the chapel beneath Mt. Calvary, called the chapel of our blessed Lady and St. John.

#### Jacobites

Item the Jacobites possess a chapel with an altar behind the holy sepulchre. They possess also the place by the door, as one enters, where they carried the holy body of Christ and placed it on the knees of our blessed Lady, when it was taken down from the holy Cross. There are eight ampullae burning always, of which they must light one.

#### Indians

Item the Indians or Abyssinians possess the altar, beneath which is the column on which Christ our Lord sat in Pilate's house, when they mocked him, spat on him and crowned him. This chapel they have to keep lighted. The Abyssinians have also their own chapel and dwelling, to the left of the holy sepulchre, between two columns of the Temple.

#### Syrians

Item the Syrians possess St. Helena's chapel, wherein they celebrate and have their dwelling in the temple, beside the Indians, and over against the Jacobites.

#### Armenians

Item the Armenians possess a raised chapel, to which one ascends by a staircase, beside the Indians, where they celebrate and have their dwelling.

Item when I had well seen all the places in the temple, as described above, and visited them, we were on the next day again shut out of the temple by the heathen. As we went then ten paces eastwards in front of the temple, we came to a place on the

ground, on which a stone has been set as a sign that there Christ our Lord, while carrying the holy Cross, sank down unconscious on the ground. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we continued and returned to Mt. Sion by another way, and came first to an old castle which could be made very strong. This was built in former times by the Pisans when they captured the city of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Item we went into an alley. On the left we were shown a place where Christ our Lord appeared to the three Marys after the resurrection.<sup>2</sup> There are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item not far from there we came to a fine little church of the Jacobites. In this church is an altar, and there is the place where St. James the Great was beheaded by order of King Herod.<sup>3</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we returned to the monastery of the observants on Mt. Sion and rested during the night. Early the next day we visited the other holy places in Jerusalem.

Item we went first from Mt. Sion into the city, westwards, to Pilate's house.<sup>4</sup> By means of presents and with the help of my dragoman, who was a Mameluke, a renegade Christian, I was suffered to enter. We went into a hall, which is now the stable of the Armareio, the governor of the city of Jerusalem, where he has twelve horses standing. In Pilate's time this was his hall in which Christ our Lord was scourged, crowned and mocked, and where he was sentenced.

Item from this house we followed the true way which our

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise David's castle or the Citadel, S.E. of the Jaffa Gate. Casola (p. 244) was told likewise that it was built by the Pisans, who were formerly lords of Jerusalem, but he doubted it and left his third sack (that of Faith) unopened. Cp. Fabri, I, p. 324. According to Ghistele (p. 70) pilgrims had to pay 7 ducats there as tribute.

<sup>2</sup> The place was marked by a great stone set up in the public road. Fabri, I, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> The Church of St. James. The prison in which he was beheaded is still shown in the W. aisle.

<sup>4</sup> Fabri (II, p. 138: cp. I, p. 449) says that not one pilgrim in a thousand was able to get in, but many pilgrims succeeded. The house is described by Püntzing (1436 and 1440), Röhrich-Meisner, p. 93.

Lord Jesus took from this Pilate's house, carrying on his shoulders the heavy wood of the holy Cross to Mt. Calvary, where he was to be crucified. Item we came first to the house of the holy virgin Veronica, six hundred and fifty paces from Pilate's house. In front of this house the holy virgin stood when our Lord Jesus was carrying the Cross, and threw him the veil from her head, so that he could dry himself, and on which the form of his blessed features remained stamped. This is now in Rome. Here are seven years' absolution and as many quarantines.

Item we came further to a house, in which dwelt the rich man who is buried in Hell.<sup>1</sup> There is no absolution here.

Item we went further to a parting of the ways. Here is the meeting of three ways, and it is one hundred and twenty paces from St. Veronica's house. At this spot stood many holy women who wept and had great compassion with Christ our Lord when he was forced to carry the heavy Cross to the place of martyrdom. Then our Lord Jesus spake to them: 'ye daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me, but for yourselves and your children.' At this place are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went to the right along the street, eighty-five paces, and came to the place where the mother of God stood sad and lamenting, while she saw her beloved Son carrying the heavy Cross between two malefactors, and was so terrified that the holy Mother fell swooning to the ground. At this place St. Helena caused a church to be built, which is now wholly destroyed by the heathen. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further along the street to where an arch is built across the street. In it are two large white stones. On the one stood Jesus our Lord, and on the other stood Pilate as he sentenced Jesus to death. At this place are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we passed through this arch. Not far off stood the school in which our blessed Lady went to school in her childhood's

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (I, p. 444) tells us that his real name was Dodrux, though our Lord was loth to pronounce it in the Gospel.

days.<sup>1</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further straight along the street and came to Pilate's house, which is two hundred paces from the place where our blessed Lady stood with other holy women, as before described. By means of presents, and with the help of a Mameluke, I was let in: it is now occupied by a heathen. Here are also seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item from this house our Lord Jesus carried the heavy wood of the holy Cross to Mt. Calvary, some 1,150 paces.

Item from Pilate's house we went further on the left along a street, and came to a house where Herod lived, and where Jesus was robed in white and mocked.<sup>2</sup> At this place are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further and came to a house where our Lord Jesus forgave Mary Magdalen her sins. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we came to the Temple of Solomon<sup>3</sup> which stands one

<sup>1</sup> Fabri, I, p. 453, 'a large house, built of squared, hewn and carved stone which house adjoins the courtyard of the temple of our Lord . . . wherein she learned her letters.' Fabri has a long discussion as to whether she learned letters or acquired the knowledge by divine inspiration. Pfintzing (Röhricht-Meisner, p. 74) says she learnt Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri (I, p. 451) was unable to obtain admittance, because there was a school of Saracen boys there, and on another occasion he was driven away because it was full of the Governor's concubines. Walther (p. 277) was refused admission, but later, finding the door open, he slipped in while a companion remained outside. He adds: 'non apparuit aliquod vestigium vel signum alicuius capelle vel ecclesie.'

<sup>3</sup> The Dome of the Rock was known to medieval travellers as *Templum Domini*. Most travellers (including Boldensele, p. 261) speak of the lead roof. Von Harff's critics have denied the truth of the story of his entry, but he was not the only fifteenth-century traveller to get in. Tafur (p. 61) entered, disguised as a renegade, and describes it as 'a single nave, the whole ornamented with gold mosaic work. The floor and walls are of the most beautiful white stones and the place is hung with so many lamps that they all seemed to be joined together'. It was doubtless a dangerous and expensive escapade, but not perhaps as dangerous as was thought. Fabri (II, p. 257; cp. II, p. 242 f.) knew a knight who would have got in, if his courage had not failed him at the last moment. Guylforde (p. 44) looked into the vaults through a back door. Cp. Ludolph, p. 98; Casola, pp. 251-253; Röhricht-Meisner, p. 30, note 1. Mandeville (p. 54) also claims to have entered the *Templum Domini*, but he had letters under the Sultan's great seal. There is a long and interesting note in Warner's edition of Mandeville, p. 181.

hundred and sixty paces from the temple of Christ. Item, by means of gifts and other friendly help, I was taken by a Mameluke into this temple. But no Christian or Jew is suffered to enter there or draw near, since they say and maintain that we are base dogs, and not worthy to go to the holy places on pain of death, at which I was frightened. But this Mameluke instructed me that if I would go with him one evening, dressed in his manner, he would take me into the Temple, and that if I was recognised I was to reply like a heathen with the words and speech, and to use the words and make the signs which I was forced to use when it happened that I was imprisoned at Gazera, as I have related above,<sup>1</sup> whereupon the heathen would show me honour and suffer me to go, as indeed happened. Item the Mameluke fetched me one evening from the monastery at Mt. Sion and took me to his house, in pretence that I should have spent the night with him, where he dressed me in the clothes and apparelled me like a Mameluke. Thus we both made our way at evening towards the Temple of Solomon which, by his direction, was opened and forthwith closed so that we should not be crowded: for this I had to give four ducats.

Item this Temple of Solomon is a fine round and lofty church roofed with lead. Around it is a churchyard, without buildings, which is all paved with large white marble stones, as it is also within. I measured the inside of the church. In length it is seventy-two paces and fifty wide. In the Temple there are thirty-two fine marble pillars, which support the vaulting of the church. In this Temple, eastwards, is a small round tabernacle or chapel five feet long and broad, placed on twelve pillars, a spear's height from the ground, in which the heathen priests now pray and hold their services. It is held in great reverence and regarded as a holy place, and many ampullae burn there continually. Formerly the Jews held this tabernacle or chapel in great honour and reverence, and regarded it as a holy place, for on it stood the Ark of God, in which was their holy treasure, namely the two tables which Almighty God gave to Moses on Mt. Oreb, on which were written the Ten Commandments,

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 185.

also Aaron's rod. Therein lay also the written word of God, also the rod with which Moses smote the Red Sea and it was divided, with many other holy things, which the Jews held in great reverence before the birth of Christ. Item beneath this tabernacle is a small piece of rock enclosed with an iron railing, called the holy rock,<sup>1</sup> on which many wonders and miracles of God have been performed, for instance Melchisedek, the Priest, offered on this rock wine and bread to the God in Heaven. Also Jacob, the Patriarch, lay sleeping with his head on this rock, and saw a ladder set up from this rock to heaven, upon which the angels of God ascended and descended. When he awoke he said: 'surely this is a holy place, and I knew it not.' On this rock King David saw an angel standing with an outstretched naked sword. Further the Jewish priests made their sacrifices to God on this rock. Our Lord Jesus also wrought many miracles on this rock, which the Mameluke could not declare to me. The heathen hold this rock in great reverence, and have very many lamps burning there.

Item on the left in this Temple there is an altar almost like ours, for it is open on all sides. Here formerly the Jews made their sacrifices, offering doves, hens and turtle-doves to God in heaven. But the heathen have now set a compass [dial] on the rock so that by it, in their manner, they may know the hours. Beside this altar Zacharias was slain.

Item this Temple of Solomon has four doors by which one may enter. The doors are all made of ancient cypress wood and are carved with ancient histories. Item by the door, to the north, is a square cistern in which the heathen wash the members with which they have sinned by day or night, thinking to cleanse themselves daily by washing, and they do this before they pray, thinking that otherwise their prayers would not be acceptable to God in heaven. This is the cistern or fountain mentioned in the holy writ, wherein it is said 'I saw the water go in and out'. Item I saw in this Temple no pictures or figures, as we have in our Churches, but it is a beautiful Temple with many lamps burn-

<sup>1</sup> This was regarded by medieval pilgrims as the holy of holies. During the Christian domination the rock was shaped and encased in marble, but in 1187 Saladin laid it bare, as it still remains. Warner, *Mandeville*, p. 181.

ing, at least five hundred, as I was in fact told and saw with my eyes. Item in this Temple of Solomon our Lord Jesus preached often to the Hebrews, and taught and wrought many miracles there. Here also he drove out the buyers and sellers because they did not observe the Sabbath. Item this is where our Lord Jesus was tempted of the devil and suffered himself to be carried to the summit of Solomon's Temple. Here also the Jews threw down St. James the Less from the summit of the Temple to his death.

Item from this Temple, southwards, we came from here to the courtyard of the Temple, through a door called by us Christians *Porta Speciosa*,<sup>1</sup> through which St. Peter and St. John passed when St. Peter healed the lame man, as is told in the Evangelium. Item we went from this Temple eastwards, some twenty-six paces, into a very fine mosque or church called *Porticus Salomonis*.<sup>2</sup> When the Christians possessed Jerusalem it was called the Church of Our Blessed Lady, where for a long time she went to school.

Item this church, *Porticus Salomonis*, is much longer than the temple of Solomon. It is finely built and roofed with lead, and has within it forty-two marble pillars and eight hundred lamps, which burn there daily. Since the heathen have this church in great reverence, no Christian or Jew may approach it.

Item at the end of this church we went down a great staircase into a vault, which was a stable of the Sultan or the Mamelukes, with accommodation for some six hundred horses.<sup>3</sup> Since the church is wholly vaulted below we could see well, from its appearance, that in Christian times it was a crypt in which Mass was celebrated, as can be seen from the many altars which are still there. Item we went from this crypt into a beautiful little mosque or church, which is built quite close to the church *Porticus Salomonis*. This was built by the old Sultan Kathubee,

<sup>1</sup> On the Beautiful Gate, see Fabri, II, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> The large edifice on the S. side of the Temple area, called in the Middle Ages indiscriminately *Palatium*, *Porticus* seu *Templum Salomonis* (Robinson, I, p. 442), now the Aksa mosque. For a description, see Gabriel von Rattenberg (1527), *Röhricht-Meisner*, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> On these extensive vaults, see Robinson, I, p. 446.

who died five years ago and is honourably buried there. A hundred lamps burn there daily.<sup>1</sup>

Item from this church we went some thirty paces to the right hand, westwards, across this fine courtyard which is paved with marble, fifteen paces from the temple of Solomon. We came then to the Golden Door<sup>2</sup> through which our Lord Jesus rode in on Palm Sunday, sitting on an ass. This gate is of cypress wood covered with copper, and is much cut and mutilated. Therefore the heathen guard the doorway closely, so that no Christian may approach it. They have also their cemetery outside the gate towards the Vale of Jehoshaphat, where they bury their dead. Therefore they guard the gate closely against Christians and Jews, whom they regard as more filthy than dogs, lest they should tread on their graves. We broke and cut off many pieces of the wood and copper which I carried back with me. At this gate there is plenary absolution from all sins, both penalty and guilt.

Item we went from this Golden Gate, westwards, from the courtyard of Solomon's temple, and came to a pool of standing water, called Probatica Piscina,<sup>3</sup> where our Lord Jesus worked many miracles. No Christian or Jew may approach it except by secret help.

Item we went westwards and came to St. Anne's House,<sup>4</sup> which the Christians in former times made into a beautiful church, but now the heathen have turned it into their praying house or mosque, so that the Christians cannot enter, but by means of secret help and gifts we were allowed to go in. We

<sup>1</sup> The Madrassa (teaching mosque) el Ashrāfiya, which stands on the W. boundary of the Haram enclosure. Vincent & Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Pt. IV, 1926, p. 981. But Kait Bey was buried in Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri (I, p. 459) says that the Saracens cut off pieces of the plates and nails and sold them to the Christians, who often risked their lives by going there at night and tearing off little pieces. The relics were said to be proof against apoplexy, falling sickness and plague.

<sup>3</sup> Casola (p. 248) saw vestiges of the 5 porches mentioned in John v, 2. Many pilgrims drank the water. Casola adds: 'When I saw the filth I left it alone, it was enough for me to wash my hands there.'

<sup>4</sup> Guylforde (p. 30) notes that the Saracens suffered none to enter except 'pryvely or for brybes'. Cp. Röhricht, p. 20, note 248, for references to other pilgrims who got in. Breydenbach (1483-84) carried away portions of the stonework which was believed to be good for pregnant women (26 July). For a description, see De Vogüé, *Eglises*, p. 233. It is the best preserved of the crusading edifices.



went through the transept, and at the side of the church we climbed through a narrow hole in the arch of a large window, being forced to carry lighted candles so that we could see, and came to a little vault in which St. Anne, the mother of our blessed Lady, departed from this earth. We went then to another vault in which our blessed Lady was born. Here is forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt. Item next day the Mameluke took me from the church back to Mt. Sion, and no one knew that I had slept the night at the Mameluke's house.

Item the next day we went with two observants, one a German born at St. Tryuden, and went to see the other holy places, but the Mameluke would not go with us because of the other heathen. We went first from Mt. Sion through the city westwards to St. Anne's House. Not far from this northwards is a gate of Jerusalem called St. Stephen's Gate,<sup>1</sup> because St. Stephen was taken through this door when he was stoned. But this gate is made only of wood hanging on wooden posts, like all the gates of Jerusalem.

Item we went northwards from this gate to the Vale of Jehoshaphat. In thirty paces we came to a rock where stood formerly a church in honour of St. Stephen, as it was there that he was stoned to death. Beside it is the spot, marked with stones, where St. Paul, when he was a young man, and before his conversion, stood and minded the clothes of those who stoned St. Stephen.<sup>2</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further down the Vale of Jehoshaphat. In the valley we crossed a small stone bridge four paces long, although at this time there was no water under the bridge and it was quite dry, for in winter there is seldom rain or snow about Jerusalem, but the water is gathered together in the vale of Jehoshaphat, so that at that time there is a stream under the bridge, which in Christ's time was called Torrens Cedron. At that time, where the bridge now is, there was wood laid for a bridge, from which wood the holy Cross was made, over which the Queen of Sheba refused to pass, because she knew in the

<sup>1</sup> The northernmost gate on the east side, called by the Crusaders the Gate of Jehoshaphat, after the valley. Robinson, I, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 461.

spirit that the Saviour of the world was to die on it.<sup>1</sup> At this bridge are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went from this bridge to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and climbed a little and came to a fine church called after our blessed Lady.<sup>2</sup> This church is fine and lofty and vaulted, and lies right in the centre of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The earth on both sides of the hill has fallen against the walls, so that the church now lies quite underground, and one can go straight from the hill on to the roof of the church. Here one descends by a staircase of fifty-two steps to the church below. About half way down the steps are two fine stone tombs, roofed above, one on each side. In one on the right hand was buried Joachim, our blessed Lady's father, and in the other, on the left hand, was buried St. Anne, our blessed Lady's mother, but St. Helena caused the bodies to be taken to Constantinople. We descended the steps further until we came to the church beneath. On the right is a little chapel with two doors, in which is a stone grave vaulted over, six of my feet long, where the Apostles buried the holy body of our blessed Lady. In this chapel is forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt.

Item we went out of this church and went on the left beneath the Mt. of Olives<sup>3</sup> and, climbing a little, we reached a hollow rock into which we had to climb. This is the place where our Lord Jesus sweated water and blood, praying three times to the heavenly Father that he might take away the cup of martyrdom from him.<sup>4</sup> In the cave there is still a little rock standing above, on which the angel of God stood to comfort our Lord Jesus. In

<sup>1</sup> According to Fabri (I, p. 522) the story comes from the Greek Histories and the *Speculum Historiale*. Solomon took the wood away and sank it in the cistern at the Pool of Bethesda. At the time of Christ's passion it rose to the surface and was made into Christ's cross. Cp. Fabri, I, p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> The half-subterranean church was erected here in the fifth century and was frequently destroyed. Fabri (I, p. 466) was very merry here and sang cheerfully, for there was a sweet and musical echo. Cp. Ludolph, p. 109; Poloner, p. 7; Robinson, I, p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> On the Mt. of Olives, see Robinson, I, p. 405; Casola, p. 246; Ludolph, p. 112; Poloner, p. 8; Fabri, I, p. 470 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fabri (I, p. 472) reports that traces of Christ's knees could once be seen there, but could be seen no longer because of the destruction wrought by relic-hunters.

this cave is absolution, with forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt.

Item we went further, a stone's throw from this cave, to a rock where our Lord Jesus bade the three Apostles St. Peter, St. James and St. John wait saying: 'wait and sit here while I depart to the place and pray to my heavenly Father' (the place is described above) and this happened three times, and each time that he returned to this place he found them sleeping, but the Evangelium puts it further away, and places it in a garden which the heathen have now wholly destroyed and turned into a field. In this place are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further up the Mt. of Olives and came to a place where St. Thomas the Apostle received the girdle of our blessed Lady<sup>1</sup> when she died and ascended into heaven. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item not far from here we came to a field, where is a place marked with a heap of stones. Here Judas kissed our Lord Jesus on his blessed cheek,<sup>2</sup> upon which the Jews seized and took him, and as they fell back he said 'whom seek ye?' Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item hard by is shown the spot marked with stones, where St. Peter the Apostle struck off the ear of Malchus, the servant of Annas, the bishop, and our Lord Jesus replaced it.

Item we climbed further and came to the place where our Lord Jesus wept over the city of Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, saying: 'O Jerusalem if thou hadst known thou wouldst have wept with me.' Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item still higher up on the Mt. of Olives, is the place where the angel of God brought a palm branch to our blessed Lady and announced the hour of her death.<sup>3</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item still higher up we came to a little flat place on the Mt. of Olives, called Galilee,

<sup>1</sup> It was reported that St. Thomas, hearing the harmony of the heavenly host, looked up and beheld the body of the Mother of our Lord ascending into heaven. She flung down her girdle to strengthen his faith. See *Golden Legend*, IV, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Fabri (I, p. 474) says that the place was surrounded by a stone wall, but that the Saracens befouled the place with dung and bedaubed with filth the stones which the pilgrims were wont to kiss.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 480; *Golden Legend*, IV, p. 235.

where the angel spoke to the disciples saying: 'He is risen from the dead and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he told you.' But the angel must have meant the little hill and not the land of Galilee, for it lies two days' journey away. At this place there are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item we went up to the real summit of the Mt. of Olives, where there is a church. At the entrance there is a broad stone on the ground, in which are the prints of two foot-marks, the right foot-mark being more easily seen than the other.<sup>1</sup> Here our Lord Jesus left the mark of his feet as a memorial to us that, in the presence of his disciples, he ascended into heaven. At this place is absolution, with forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt.

Item from the Mt. of Olives we overlooked the whole of Jerusalem, since the mountain is much higher than Jerusalem, and is only divided from the valley of Jehoshaphat by a narrow plain. From here one sees also the Dead Sea, where the five towns Sodom and Gomorrah were swallowed up. Item we descended further from the Mt. of Olives by another way to the south, and came first to a church in which St. Pelagia did great penance.<sup>2</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item not far away was formerly the village of Bethphage,<sup>3</sup> from which our Lord Jesus sent two of his disciples on Palm Sunday to fetch him an ass and a colt, but now there is no house or dwelling there, only cultivated land.

Item we went hence and descended a little further and came to an old ruined church called after St. Mark the Evangelist. Here the Twelve Apostles composed the Twelve Articles of the Holy Faith. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, descending a little further, we came to a ruined

<sup>1</sup> The Church of the Ascension. The place of the ascension was left open to the sky, because, when the builders tried to cover it, the stones fell down again. In the same way, when builders tried to cover the footmark, the stones flew up into their faces. Fabri, I, p. 485; Ludolph, p. 113. Sir Geo. Warner, *Mandeville*, p. 184, has an interesting note on the footmark. For the view, see Fabri, I, p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 499; *Golden Legend*, v, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Ludolph (p. 114) adds that our Lord must have been a good rider, otherwise one could not have believed that a man on an ass could have ridden down such a road, 'for this road comes down very steep and narrow from the Mount of Olives'.

church, where our Lord Jesus taught his disciples the Pater Noster. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, descending lower, we came to a stone on which the Mother of God often rested when she visited the place of martyrdom of her beloved child after his resurrection. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, continuing lower, we came to the church of St. James the Less, where our Lord Jesus after his resurrection appeared to St. James on holy Easter Day. Here also was St. James first buried. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item, still descending, we came to the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the place where lay the village of Gethsemane, in which our Lord performed many miracles. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went further through the valley of Jehoshaphat and came on the right hand to a tower built against a rock, wherein Absalom lies buried.<sup>1</sup> Round about this tower lie many loose stones, for as the heathen pass they throw stones through one of the windows in contempt of Absalom, because he was disobedient to his father, King David.

Item not far off we came to the valley of Siloh, and on the left hand we were shown the spot where stood the elder-tree on which Judas hanged himself.<sup>2</sup>

Item at the entrance to the valley of Siloh<sup>3</sup> (so called, but it is a plain in the valley of Jehoshaphat and Siloh, lying beneath Jerusalem) is a spring underground which flows sometimes but seldom. In this spring our blessed Lady in her youth often washed the cloths of her beloved child. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item we came to a piece of water like a pond called Natatorium Siloe. At this place our Lord Jesus made the blind to see. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

<sup>1</sup> Casola (p. 246) calls it a monument built in the ancient fashion. Fabri (II, p. 145) calls it a pyramid, Ludolph (p. 110) a statue cunningly wrought and of wondrous size. Poloner (p. 11) doubts whether it was the tomb of Absalom or of King Jehoshaphat, or of Pharaoh's daughter, whom Solomon loved. In memory of Absalom's disobedience it is customary for the Jews to pelt the monument with stones to the present day. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 23, and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 531.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 526; Robinson, I, p. 493.

Item we came to a tree. This is the place where the Jews sawed the prophet Isaiah asunder with a wood-saw.<sup>1</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we came to many caves or holes in the rock wherein the Twelve Apostles often lay hid through fear, with many other holy Christians, when the Jews pursued them.<sup>2</sup> At each cave are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we went southwards and came to the place called Aceldema. This is the field which was bought with the thirty pennies which Judas took for the betrayal of our Lord Jesus, and which St. Helena caused to be surrounded with a wall on three sides against a mountain, for the burial of Christians. We climbed up to it. It is vaulted and has seven openings through which the dead Christian bodies are thrown, and in which they fall.<sup>3</sup> This field is fifty feet broad and seventy-two long.

Item from the field of Aceldema we went northwestwards to Mt. Sion, climbing the mount for half a German mile. Here we rested for three days with the observants and visited once again the holy places within the temple of our Lord Jesus, and other holy places in Jerusalem.



























Item within Jerusalem live many Jews, among them certain learned doctors of Christian teaching, born in Lombardy, and two Christian monks who within three years fell away from the Christian faith to the Jewish sect, with whom I had much conversation and questioning, which would take too long to relate. I

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (I, 530) tells the story that Isaiah reproved King Manasses for his sins, and that then the prophet was taken to a tree to be executed. The trunk of the tree opened, Isaiah entered and the tree closed up again, but the king had him dragged forth and cut in sunder with a wood-saw.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fabri, I, p. 532.

<sup>3</sup> Ludolph (p. 112) says that after three days nothing remained of the bodies but bones. He also gives (p. 110) the history of the Thirty Pieces of Silver which Terah, Abraham's father, received from Ninus, king of Mesopotamia for his pay. They passed into the hands of the Ishmaelites, and with them Joseph was bought from his brethren. They then came into Joseph's possession as the price of the corn. Later they came into the hands of the Queen of Sheba, who in Solomon's time, offered them to the Temple. After further adventures they found their way into the keeping of Melchior, one of the Three Kings, who offered them to Christ. The Virgin Mary lost them, but they were found by a shepherd, who kept them for 30 years and then laid them with other gifts on the altar in the Temple. The Jews cast them into corbans and afterwards gave them to Judas. Cp. Robinson, I, p. 525.

found also three German Jews in Jerusalem, as also in all heathen and Turkish places. I kept company with them often on account of the language and learnt to write the alphabet, and retained also certain words from their daily speech, as they are written here.<sup>1</sup>

joth	thech	heth	daen	vau
				
hee	delech	gymel	bath	aleph
				
pe	ayn	samech	nun	nun
				
men	men	lamed	kaff	kaff
				
	taff	schyn	resz	kuff
				
zodick	zodick	ffe		
				

<sup>1</sup> Good copies, but the order is wrong. Except for a few curiosities the language is correct, although some words are very strange. It is difficult to believe that Hebrew was really a spoken language at this time. (Note by the School of Oriental and African Studies.) See article by Franz Babinger in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, N. F. xxviii (1920), pp. 71-75.

## Jewish Speech

lehem,	bread
jojen,	wine
moim,	water
boissar,	meat
befinna,	cheese
betzim,	eggs
hometz,	vinegar
semen,	oily
tangol,	a cock
tangoles,	a hen
daegim,	fish
meela,	salt
toeff,	good
va,	evil
onoge,	I
emmes,	true
kysiff,	untrue
eys,	a man
eyscha,	a woman
ken,	yes
lo,	no
eufasa,	a goose
offena,	a ship
tzus,	a horse
mispa,	fodder
eusapbum,	hay
deesse,	grass
tefen,	straw
balbaes,	a host
beyueren,	to drink
agila,	to eat
dormen,	sleep
nero,	a candle
baeskisse,	a privy
kaff,	a spoon
karo,	a dish
measlaufen,	white money



schagofim,	a gulden
edonai,	God
elohin,	the Lord
zatan,	the devil
malach,	an angel
kiszones,	a shirt
ferrohatz,	to wash
maritz,	the bakehouse
hillich,	to go

kamme tetim ly,	what will you give me?
anoge etten lachae cambi,	I will give you so much
ma schemo,	what is his name?
a question: jehuede atta?	are you a Jew?
Answer of the other person:	
ken dibarta,	You are right
plonosa anoge tzogeff	Woman, let me sleep with
eitzelga see halegla,	you tonight
anoge etten lagae zahaff;	I will give you a gulden

ehat,	1	scuim aschar,	12
senaim,	2	scloussa aschar,	13
scloussa,	3	harba aschar,	14
harba,	4	hemmissa aschar,	15
hemmissa,	5	schessa aschar,	16
schessa,	6	scheua aschar,	17
scheua,	7	schemona aschar,	18
schemona,	8	tischa aschar,	19
tischa,	9	escherim,	20
aschara,	10	mea,	100
ahat aschar,	11	eleff,	1000
toeff boker,		good morning	
toeff laila,		good night	
schim emagem,		God be with you	

Item on Mt. Sion, in the monastery of the observants, we prepared ourselves, with the help of the Master, who knew several heathen languages very well, to go to Damascus and first to Jordan. We provided ourselves with all necessary things,

asses, mules, food, and with people to escort us, although I still had a Mameluke with me, who was my guide and dragoman, as I have described above.

Item from Mt. Sion to Bethany, 1 German mile.  
We descended the mount of Jerusalem, over the vale of Jehoshaphat and climbed half up the Mount of Olives, and behind the mount is Bethany, a small village where we descended to a church. Inside it is a tomb, which is well lit, where our Lord Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead, after he had lain there dead for three days.<sup>1</sup> Item not far from this church is the house of Simon the leper, in which St. Mary Magdalen annointed our Lord Jesus' feet and dried them with her hair. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item not far from this house we came to another house in which Martha lived, and where our Lord Jesus often lodged. Here are absolution for seven years' and seven quarantines.

Item we continued and came to an old house wherein St. Mary Magdalen dwelt. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from Bethany to Terra Ruscho, two German miles, in German, the Red Earth.<sup>2</sup> We then crossed a mountain near by. Here was formerly a monastery, and it is the place to which Joachim, the father of our blessed Lady, came from the Temple at Jerusalem to his sheep, remaining here a time, since the Jews mocked him in the Temple because his wife Anna was not fruitful. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from Terra Ruscho to Jericho,<sup>3</sup> 3 miles.

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 76) reports that the church built by St. Helena above the tomb was a noble one, but the church was desecrated and its altars destroyed. Poloner (p. 17) tells us that the pillars were still standing. The house of Martha and Mary was close by.

<sup>2</sup> The district was frequently known as *terra rubea*. Walther, p. 146 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Ludolph (p. 115) describes Jericho as formerly a royal and famous city, now brought down to a small village, but standing in an exceeding beauteous and fertile spot in the valley of the Jordan. In Casola's time (p. 268) there was nothing left but ruins and a tower, and a hut propped up against ruins. Neither bread nor wine was to be found there for money or as a gift. Cp. Ghistele, p. 96; Fabri, II, p. 43; Robinson, II, pp. 273 ff., p. 295. See Fabri, II, p. 41 for the house of Zacchaeus (also the house of Rahab, the Harlot). The walls of Zacchaeus' house were still to be seen. Ghistele, p. 96.

We went through the mountains where wild Arabs rode down upon us, and we had to give them courtesy or tribute. This is a very ancient and ruined town in which our Lord Jesus did many wonders, especially in the house of Zaccheus, where Jesus lodged frequently. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item before the town of Jericho is shown a place where a poor blind man cried with a loud voice to our Lord Jesus as he passed by with the multitude, saying 'Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me', and immediately he received his sight. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from Jericho to the Jordan,<sup>1</sup> 2 miles. We came to the place where St. John baptized our Lord Jesus. We stripped ourselves naked and went in to bathe there. At this place is absolution with forgiveness of all sins both pain and guilt. Item Jordan is a noble but muddy stream running between high mountains on both sides. It rises under Mt. Lebanon from two streams, one called Jor, the other Dan, from which it takes its name Jordan.

<sup>1</sup> The visit to the Jordan provided plenary absolution, and most pilgrims desired to bathe in it, but the journey was in Guylforde's time (p. 41) 'right peryllous'. Cp. Wey, p. 48, 'Illa via est dura et aspera, propter calorem, et multitudinem montium, defectum aque, necnon et aliarum rerum pertinencium ad corporis sustentationem.' There was neither food nor drink to be had by the way. The Patron, who was bound to conduct the pilgrims there personally, often advised against it, partly because of the dangers and depredations of the Bedouins, but also, it was said, because he thereby saved the cost of the expedition. Röhricht-Meisner, p. 412, note. Fabri (II, pp. 3 ff.) discusses the matter in detail. One of the objections was that pilgrims returned sickly and died on board the galley. Fabri adds (p. 5) 'I never should advise any pilgrim, whose life hath any value in his own eyes, to visit the Jordan, no matter how strong he may be, because in both pilgrimages I have seen many noble and strong men fall sick and perish.' Regulations were issued against swimming to the other bank and diving, but they were seldom observed. Pilgrims were summoned out of the water by trumpet-blast, and, if they delayed, were driven out with whips. Röhricht, p. 21 and notes 271-284. Casola (p. 268) describes the water as muddy. Many drank it from devotion. Casola adds, 'I let them drink'. When Tafur (1435-1439: p. 59) was there a German was drowned, and there were, it is said, frequent drownings in the preceding century. Walther, p. 121, note. The ford, Mahâdet Hajleh, is the place which for centuries has been pointed out as the scene of our Lord's baptism. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 5th ed., p. 131; Robinson, II, p. 257. On the name Jor-Dan, see Mandeville, p. 69; Boldensele, p. 275.

Item not far off, one Italian mile, at the back, we came to a Church called after St. John the Baptist,<sup>1</sup> where he lived at the time when our Lord came intending to be baptized, and St. John said 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world'. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item here also the prophet Elijah was carried to paradise in a fiery chariot.

Item not far from St. John's church on the left hand is the monastery of St. Jerome wherein he lived a hard life for a long time.<sup>2</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from hence we went to the Dead Sea, in which Sodom and Gomorrah with other places were swallowed up on account of their great sins. Item the Dead Sea<sup>3</sup> lies between high mountains and country, and extends in length southwest some five German miles, and is at some places half a German mile and at others a German mile broad, more or less. Not far from Jericho the Jordan runs into the Dead Sea and one can see its muddiness clearly for half a mile in the Sea. Afterwards the Jordan is swallowed up in the Dead Sea so that one does not know where it is. Item the mountains and countryside beside the Dead Sea are very barren and the air is stinking and heavy. By it grow fine fruits, and when one breaks or cuts them open they are full of dust and ashes inside. The water of the sea is very thick and heavy, like oil, and good salt is made from it. Item beside the Dead Sea one finds poisonous snakes called tyrus, from which tyriack is made, of which I have seen many.<sup>4</sup> They are reddish-

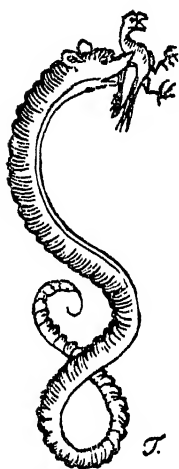
<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 35) describes it as deserted and lived in by robber-Arabs who used it as a fortress. A monastery once adjoined it.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Walther, p. 169, note. It lay  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour W.S.W. from St. John's monastery. Fabri, II, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Ludolph, pp. 116-117; Fabri, II, p. 163 ff. The apples are frequently mentioned by travellers. Robinson, II, p. 235 ff. Cp. Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant*, ch. xv, with picture.

<sup>4</sup> Fabri (II, p. 163) did not see any serpents, adding that they came forth only at night. Cp. Ghiste, p. 119, who adds (quoting Vincent of Beauvais) that before Christ's death there was no antidote to their venom, but that at the crucifixion one of the serpents was hung beside the Cross, and that since that time they provided an antidote against all other poisons.

white in colour, half an ell long, as thick as a finger, and the skin is horny with bristles on it, like the tail of a ray, and it is stone blind, as I have often seen. When a heathen strikes at it, it becomes angry and thrusts its tongue, which is split like an



arrow, far out of its mouth, which has the appearance of being fiery. At the same time its head swelled out and shot forward, rapidly like an arrow from a cross-bow, against the heathen who was by a rock, so that we saw pieces of it break off. But we were standing on a high rock, and the heathen told us that the tyrus is said to throw itself through a board three fingers' thick when it is angry. Its appearance is as follows.

Item it is related in our country that in the Dead Sea one can still see some of the ruined walls of the sunken cities beneath the water, also that there is a pillar of salt still standing by the Dead Sea, which was Lot's wife,<sup>1</sup> for when the angel of God led Lot, his wife and two daughters from the sunken cities, he forbade them to look back, but the wife was disobedient and was forthwith turned into a pillar of salt. Many say that they have seen these things, for a fine lie well adorns a tale. But after long experience and questioning about this salt pillar, and after walking on both sides of the sea for six days up and down, we could see nothing. But from far off on the other side of the sea, in the mist and darkness, it seemed to us that we could see ancient walls in the water, but when we drew near we found that they were only broken rocks which had fallen from the mountains into the sea.

Item from the Dead Sea we went westwards past Jericho to a high mountain called, the Mount Quarantana. Here we climbed by stony paths to a chapel built into the rock, where our Lord

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1171: p. 23) saw the pillar and says that the sheep licked it continuously, but afterwards it regained its original shape, but pillars of salt were met with elsewhere. See a long note in Warner's *Mandeville*, p. 185.

Jesus fasted forty days and nights.<sup>1</sup> Here is absolution with forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt.

Item we climbed in great fear over the sharp rocks to the summit of the mount, to the place where our Lord Jesus was carried by the devil and tempted. Here is absolution with forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt. Item from this mount Quarantana there runs a pleasant stream eastwards to the Jordan called the river Helizei, where many miracles were wrought.<sup>2</sup>

Item from Mount Quarantana to Neopole, 4 miles.  
We travelled northwards over high mountains. This place lies in a pleasant valley. In it is the well where our Lord Jesus asked the heathen woman for water to drink from the well.<sup>3</sup> A fine church stood formerly in this place. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from Neapole to Napalosa, 1 day's journey,  
a town formerly called Sichar, where are buried the remains of Joseph, the son of Jacob, who ruled for many years in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> He died there and the Jews brought his remains here, and make every year great pilgrimages to the place. Further, here at Napalosa, the Patriarch Jacob's daughter<sup>5</sup> was ravished, for which her two brothers killed many men and wrought much evil.

Item from Napalosa to a cistern, 2 miles.  
It lies in the valley of Tochaim, and into this cistern Joseph was

<sup>1</sup> Fabri (II, p. 56 ff.) confirms that the climb was difficult. Cp. Walther, p. 148. There is still a church on the top in ruins. In Ludolph's time (c. 1350: p. 115) it was a fair church. The hill Quarantane is the Jebel Kürüntül, about 3 miles northwest of Erîha or Jericho.

<sup>2</sup> Called Fons Helisei in the itineraries. Cp. Walther, p. 148. Here, according to tradition, was the spring which Elisha healed with salt, 2 Kings ii, 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> See Ludolph, p. 122; Robinson, III, p. 107; Boldensele, p. 277. Ghistele (p. 102) says it was on the right hand of the road with remains of a fine church and a well.

<sup>4</sup> Napalosa: Nebulus (Shechem). See Robinson, III, p. 113 ff. In Ludolph's time it was almost deserted (p. 122), but Ghistele (p. 101) says it was 'alsnoch zeer wel behuust'. Joseph's tomb, a small square building, lies a short distance from Jacob's well at the entrance to the Vale of Nebulus. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 21, note.

<sup>5</sup> Dinah, see Genesis xxxiv, 25.

thrown by his brethren before they sold him.<sup>1</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from the cistern to Basten, 2 miles. This was a fine town lying on a high mountain, like Jerusalem, and it lies in the province of Samaria.<sup>2</sup> It was formerly the chief town of the Ten Tribes. To this town of Basten St. John the Baptist was brought after death by his disciples from the castle of Matheim, which lies by the Dead Sea, where he had been beheaded, and was buried between two prophets called Helyseus and Abdon.<sup>3</sup> But later the Emperor Julianus Apostata had his remains dug up, and caused the holy body to be burnt and the ashes scattered in the wind. Formerly there was a fine church on the spot, but now it is wholly destroyed. Here are still seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item in the town of Basten, and in the whole province of Samaria, there are many Christians called Samaritani, who all wear red scarves tied round their heads. They think themselves better than the other Christians, Syrians, Jacobites and Abyssinians who wear blue scarves round their heads.<sup>4</sup>

Item we went from this town of Basten down the mountain, where we found a fine fountain called after Job, which changes its colour four times yearly, at one time it is green, the second red, the third time yellow the fourth dark, as we were told.<sup>5</sup> We saw it dark green like other water. This fountain is laid by means of canals as far as Acre and Tyre, two towns lying on the sea, wherein Christ wrought many miracles.

<sup>1</sup> Mandeville (p. 71) refers to Joseph's cistern as in the Vale of Dotaym, 2 miles from Shechem.

<sup>2</sup> See Ludolph, p. 123. Poloner (p. 37) says, 'now utterly ruined and desolate, save only two churches'. Ghistele (p. 103) speaks of a fine castle, now destroyed, and says that the church of St. John had been turned into a mosque.

<sup>3</sup> See Robinson, III, p. 142, and Mandeville, p. 71. *Golden Legend*, v, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> From Mandeville, p. 73, who got it from Boldensele, p. 277, with this exception that in Boldensele the Christians wear yellow whereas Mandeville writes blue, as does v. Harff, another instance of v. Harff's copying from Mandeville. Cp. Robinson, III, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> See Mandeville, p. 72, where the fountain is sometimes green, sometimes red, sometimes clear, and 'sometime trouble' [turbid].

Item from Basten to Nazareth, 1 day's journey.  
 This is now a village<sup>1</sup> lying in a pleasant valley. In Christian times there was a fine church there, as one can still see by the fine and lofty pillars, with its own Christian bishop who lived there, but all is now destroyed by the heathen. By one of the pillars is still a little chapel, two fathoms wide, in which is a marble pillar against which the Mother of God leaned when the heavenly angel Gabriel brought the message of conception, saying: 'Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God.' In this chapel is absolution with forgiveness of all sins, both from penalty and guilt. Further our blessed Lady was born here in Nazareth, and took Joseph as her lawful husband when she was fourteen years old, from which our Lord Jesus took the name of Nazareth.

Item close to Nazareth we climbed a high stony mountain to which the Jews carried our Lord Jesus, intending to cast him down from the summit, but he departed out of their hands.<sup>2</sup> Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from Nazareth to Mt. Tabor, 2 miles,  
 which is a pleasant and agreeable place, where formerly stood a town with many Christian churches, but all are now destroyed.<sup>3</sup> Under this mount live many heathen who hold the mountain in

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ludolph, p. 124: once a famous city, 'and is a very fair one to this day, standing in a flowery and beauteous vale, girt about on all sides by mountains. It is not walled, but its houses stand apart from one another; yet it is well peopled.' The church was apparently standing in Ludolph's time (c. 1350), but the Saracens had desecrated it by casting in the carcasses of dead animals, so that one could scarce approach it for the stench (p. 125). Not every pilgrim made the journey to Nazareth. Fabri (II, p. 109) was told that there were more dangers in that pilgrimage than in crossing the desert to Mount Sinai.

<sup>2</sup> Called the Lord's Leap. 'The figure of Jesus may be seen to this day imprinted as though on soft wax upon the rock through which He passed.' Ludolph, p. 125. The traditional leap of our Lord is the precipice Jebel Kafsy, 950 ft. high, two miles from the city.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Rieter (p. 83) who repeats the story that the heathen thought no man worthy to live there. The tradition that Mt. Tabor was the scene of the Transfiguration dates from the fourth century and three churches corresponding with the three tabernacles were built there in the sixth century. It appears that from earliest times a fortified city existed on Mt. Tabor. Robinson, III, p. 221; Ghistele, p. 105.



great reverence and guard it, thinking that no one is worthy to live on it. Item there are pleasant gardens on this mount, with rare fruits and trees, one of which is walled. This is where our Lord in the presence of three disciples St. Peter, St. Paul [James] and St. John was transfigured, and his raiment was white as snow, and his face did shine as the sun and they knew that the Holy Ghost was in him, and St. Peter said: 'It is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for me [Moses] and one for Elias,' and they heard the voice of Almighty God saying 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased'. Afterwards our Lord Jesus charged the three disciples to tell the vision to no man until after his resurrection.

Item the Christians, Syrians, Jacobites, Georgians, Abyssinians and others who live in the land hold it for true that Adam, the first man, broke the commandment on Mt. Tabor, also that in the Last Day the four angels shall appear on this mountain and pronounce the Last Judgement.<sup>1</sup> On this mount is forgiveness of all sins from penalty and guilt. This is the same belief about which I have written concerning the source of the Nile which, it is said, flows from Paradise.

Item from Tabor to Hermon,<sup>2</sup> a mountain, 1 mile, we climbed into the heights where formerly stood a town called Naym, now entirely destroyed. There they showed us a stone where our Lord Jesus raised the widow's only son from the dead as they were carrying him to the grave. Here are seven years' indulgence and seven quarantines.

Item from Hermon to Saffra, 2 miles, a castle where Alpheus and Sebedius were born.<sup>3</sup> Item from Saffra we went down to the Sea of Galilee, where our Lord Jesus did many wonderful works, and where in particular he took St. Peter, St. John, St. Andrew, and St. James as his Apostles.

<sup>1</sup> From Mandeville, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See Mandeville, p. 77. Cp. Robinson, III, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> From Mandeville, p. 77. Sir Geo. Warner identifies Saffra with Safran or Shefa 'Amr, 10 miles east of Haifa (his ed. of Mandeville, p. 167).

Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item on this sea of Galilee is a town called Tiberius where many Christians live. This is where our Lord Jesus took St. Matthew from the receipt of custom to be one of his Apostles. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines. Item the Sea of Galilee is a quiet, sweet-water lake, one mile long and half a mile broad, well stocked with fish, where our Lord Jesus, St. Peter and other disciples fished many times. They showed us also the spot where St. Peter was almost drowned in the sea and our Lord Jesus caught him, saying: 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?'

Item the Jordan comes from the north and runs southwards through the middle of the Sea of Galilee, and where it runs out there is a stone bridge across the Jordan, which one crosses into the kingdom of Basan.<sup>1</sup>

Item from this town of Tiberias we climbed a mount where our Lord Jesus fed the 5,000 with five loaves of bread and five fishes.<sup>2</sup> Here is absolution for seven years with seven quarantines.

Close by is another mount where Christ fed with seven loaves the 4,000 persons who had followed to hear him preach. Here is absolution for seven years with seven quarantines.

Item we descended this mount to a little village close by called Cana of Galilee,<sup>3</sup> where our Lord Jesus turned water into wine at the wedding feast. Here is absolution for seven years with seven quarantines.

Item from Cana in Galilee to Damascus, 2 days' journey. We went through many villages, over mountains and through pleasant, fruitful valleys. This is a fine and large town sur-

<sup>1</sup> Mandeville (p. 77) speaks of a great bridge where men pass to the kingdom of Basan. The bridge is possibly the Bridge of Taricheæ, the modern Kerak, at the southern extremity of the Lake. Its remains are still to be seen at Kerak. Warner, *Mandeville*, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, III, p. 240; Ludolph, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Poloner (p. 36) states that the place of the wedding feast was a cave hewn out of the rock which held a few men, and that the places were shewn where stood the water pots and seats, and where the tables were set. Ghistelet, p. 108; cp. Robinson, III, p. 207.

rounded by pleasant, fruitful gardens, in which grow many rare fruits and herbs.<sup>1</sup> The town lies between mountains in a very fruitful and pleasant plain, through which run two beautiful little rivers which water the town and all the gardens thereabout. Item this town of Damascus is now subject to the Sultan, who has a strong castle at the end of it, where the Armareio lives, who is the governor and a Mameluke, and is sent there by the Sultan. The town is also surrounded with walls, of which there are not many in heathen lands, except Damascus and Alexandria, which were first built by the Christians. Item we came to lodge in a house called *Fondigo Venetiarum*<sup>2</sup> in which the Venetian merchants ply their trade daily. They received us honourably and well, and gave us good things to eat and drink, to which we were not accustomed. We remained there four days, and during that time the merchants carried us about, so that we saw all the places inside and outside the town. There are people of all nations of the world in this town, merchants plying their trade.

Item we went first into a little chapel in which St. Paul was baptised.<sup>3</sup> Here is absolution for seven years with seven quarantines.

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting description of Damascus by Ulrich Leman—1472–1480—in Röhricht-Meisner, p. 107, who describes it as a fine and noble city, rich in merchandize and full of merchants, both Christian and heathen. The city was gay with gardens and well supplied with streams of water and fountains. The people were skilled artizans, and each craft had its own street. The shops were for the most part open day and night. Leman speaks of the Sultan's castle, in which the Governor lived. The gardens in and around the city produced the finest fruit which he had ever seen. They were full of birds which sang in summer and winter, while the vineyards produced grapes in profusion for people who did not drink wine. In short it was the noblest and richest country he had seen in all his travels. There is also an excellent description by Ludolph (1350), p. 130. Cp. Boldensele, p. 284; Ibn Battuta, p. 65. De la Brocquière (p. 299) describes the city in 1432. He relates that Christians were hated there, and that they were locked up in their houses each night and let out in the morning when it pleased their custodians. Damascus was a great depot for Asiatic merchandise, and the starting point for the caravan traffic with the East, particularly with Persia. Heyd, II, p. 61. Leman had seen 15,000 camels leave the city in one day.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the foundation of the Venetian Consulate at Damascus is not known, but it was before 1331. Heyd, II, p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ghistele (p. 242) it (or the house where he lay after his conversion) was close to St. Paul's Gate.

Item close by is the house of Ananias, the bishop, who baptised St. Paul.<sup>1</sup>

Item we proceeded to a place in the town where we were shown a hole or window in the walls, through which St. Paul was let down in a basket outside the walls of the town by his secret friends to escape the Jews, who went about to kill him.<sup>2</sup> Here is absolution for seven years with seven quarantines. Item we went out of the town where there are many pleasant walled gardens with rare fruits and herbs, surrounded by pleasant rivers and springs. Here is still shown an old ruin where Abraham lived for a long time and where Isaac was born. Also in this garden they showed us the place where Cain slew his brother Abel, Adam's son.<sup>3</sup>

Item we went further, about half a German mile from this town of Damascus, to a mound of earth beside the road beneath which stands a small chapel. Here is the place where our Lord Jesus appeared to St. Paul saying: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' and where St. Paul was converted.<sup>4</sup> At this place are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item we continued half a mile and came to a cave under a rock. By it was a square stone, on which, it is said, St. George the Knight stood to mount his horse when he was to set out for Cappadocia, now called Beyruth, to slay the wicked devil in the form of a dragon.<sup>5</sup> Both Christians and heathen have great faith in this stone, and if man or woman is plagued with pain in the back, he or she goes to this stone and rubs the back against it and forthwith it is cured. What a pitiful superstition is this, of which we have many in our own country, and believe!

Item we returned from this stone to Damascus to our lodging

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ghistele, p. 242. He saw also a cave in which Ananias and other Christians hid from persecution.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Ghistele, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> The scene of the murder was believed to be a mountain called Jebel Kasiun. On the top was a ruined wall and the remains of a dwelling—the first house to be built in the world—where Adam lived with his sons. Leman in Röhrich-Meisner, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> It was a quarter of a mile outside the city. Ghistele, p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> Ghistele (p. 243) saw this stone and says it was by the fortifications, not far from the window through which St. Paul was let down, but he says nothing about the cure for rheumatism.

with the Venetian merchants, of whom two were in our company, proposing to travel from Damascus overland, at which we were glad, for they spoke the heathen and Turkish tongues and knew the way well. We therefore prepared ourselves with all things needful and set out on mules with a caravan, which is a company of people from all countries, overland from Damascus to Constantinople, as if we were Venetian merchants who have free passage in heathen lands and in Turkey.

Item from Damascus to Beyruth, 3 days' journey. We set out on the 13th day of March in the year 1498 [1499?].<sup>1</sup> The first day we travelled over a mountain, and the next day we came to a very pleasant valley through which a river runs, which we crossed. We saw there on the right hand a high mountain whereon Noah built the Ark because of the Flood,<sup>2</sup> and away to the left we saw a rock, on which is a ruined tower where, it is said and believed, Adam was created. But there are different opinions among the Christians, heathen and Jews, who never agree. Some maintain that he was created close to Jericho, others on a small mountain close to Hebron, some on Mt. Tabor, some on Mt. Hermon, and others here between Damascus and Beyruth. But we Latins believe and say [it occurred] at that place where the Nile and three other rivers rise, as I have described before.<sup>3</sup> It is my belief, after all my wanderings, experiences and enquiries, that Adam was created by God on Mt. Tabor, but to prove this would take too long to write.

Item the next half-day we crossed a high mountain to Beyruth,<sup>4</sup> called formerly Cappadocia, a fine town lying in a very fruitful land close by the sea, surrounded by beautiful and pleasant gardens with rare fruits. In addition, there is a fine harbour where all the merchant vessels come to land. There are

<sup>1</sup> This must of course be 1499. See introduction, p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Mandeville (p. 82) speaks of a castle called Arkes near Damascus, evidently the Archus or Archis of the crusading historians. The transition to Noah is easily understood.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> On Beyrout see Heyd, II, p. 459. Tafur (p. 63) was there in 1436 but has little to say about it. Ghistele (p. 236) crossed by a stone bridge over the river where the dragon lived,

in this town merchants from Genoa, Catalonia, Turkey and Venice, with their own storehouses and shops, and servants living there. We took up our lodging with the Venetians who received us very well. Item at Beyruth there is a small monastery of Latin observants who are sent there from Jerusalem and Mt. Sion, and who are supported by the alms and favour of the Latin merchants. Item this town of Beyruth is subject to the Sultan and lies in the province of Samaria Phenicis. It is not walled, but westwards towards the sea it is fortified with walls and strong towers, and northwards, at the end of the town on the sea, there was formerly a strong castle surrounded by walls and towers, but it is not now inhabited. In this castle dwelt formerly the king of this province Phenicis, whose daughter's fate it was that she should have been devoured by the dragon. We followed the same way along the sea, northeast for half an Italian mile, to a square ruin by the path, which the king's daughter also took, having a lamb with her, to give herself to the dragon. This ruin is of stones, four-square and walled about, a spear's height from the ground, and one climbs to it from outside by steps, and the king's daughter went up with the lamb to wait for the dragon. In the meantime, by the grace of God, came the knight St. George, ready for the fray, and asked the princess why she stood there alone so sad. She replied: 'O, noble sir, fly hence forthwith, for there is an evil dragon who is about to devour me, and it will slay you as well'. At these words the knight St. George thrust a cross before him and soon overcame the dragon and freed the princess, as is told more fully in the legend of St. George.

Item about seven paces from this stone ruin to the south east is a large cave under a rock with eleven small holes or chambers hewn in it. I was informed that this king wanted to give the knight St. George his daughter and half his kingdom in return for having saved her. The knight St. George refused, and the daughter, anxious to preserve her virginity, withdrew into this cave, with eleven maidens, where she ended her life in great patience and penance. Here are seven years' absolution and seven quarantines.

Item from this stone ruin we went eastwards to a small chapel

built in honour of St. George, where he did great wonders. I was told that the heathen had often begun to destroy the chapel, but had always been punished for it. Here are absolution for seven years and seven quarantines. Item from this chapel we returned to the town until the next day, when we continued northwards along the sea.

Item from Beyruth to Tripolis, 1 day's journey.  
We travelled by a very narrow stony road where ten men might defend themselves against a thousand. This town lies in a fruitful land and is subject to the Sultan.<sup>1</sup> It is a good harbour where all merchandise is disembarked. In this town St. Marina did great atonement and penance in the garb of a monk, on account of the unchastity of herself and her daughter Babultzi.<sup>2</sup>

Item from Tripolis to Admant, 3 days' journey,  
a town where many Christian Samaritans live and possess fine temples. It is subject to the Sultan.

Item from Admant to Aleppo, 3 days' journey.  
We crossed small mountains until we came for the first time into Greater Armenia. This is a fine and large trading town subject to the Sultan, where live many Christian and Jews.<sup>3</sup> It lies three days' journey from the sea.

Item from Aleppo to Antioch, 2 days' journey.  
This was a very fine large town in Christian times, as one can still see in the fallen walls and churches. Here St. Peter occupied the first papal stool in the foremost temple, which is now quite destroyed. Close at hand the Georgian Christians have built a church where the knight St. George lies in person, whose body is kept with much honour and reverence.

<sup>1</sup> See Heyd, II, p. 462 f. Ghistele (p. 232) has a good description of the town. There was a Venetian Fondaco there.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Golden Legend*, III, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Heyd, II, p. 459; Varthema, p. 7. Ghistele (p. 260) found the bazaars full of silk and spices and was well entertained in the Venetian Fondaco there. The town was surrounded by high walls, but many places were undefended, a fact noted by Kiechel 100 years later. The town was larger than Ghent, and outside the gates were extensive suburbs. Ghistele compares the town with Cairo, and describes the castle, as does Kiechel (1585-1589), who has an excellent description of Aleppo, p. 260.

Item in this town of Antioch, or in the province of Greater Armenia, there live many Christian Armenians called otherwise Georgians.<sup>1</sup> They are subject to the Sultan and have here, in Antioch, their own Pope dwelling there who is called Catholicon, to whom, according to their faith, they are obedient, but in many articles which are not according to our beliefs.<sup>2</sup> They do not keep Christmas eve at the same time as we do. They honour the newborn Child on the thirteenth evening. They keep their fast forty days before Easter as we do, but during the forty days they eat meat, eggs, milk, fish in oil, but drink no wine thereto. They eat meat also on each Friday in the year, but not on Thursdays. Their priests celebrate Mass almost as we do, as they were formerly subject to the Roman Church, and that reverently, for they elevate the holy sacrament in a patten and cup after our manner, but they mix no water with it, as they are of opinion that wine in its natural state turns more readily to blood than when mixed with water.

Item their priests have great round shaven patches on their heads, but they never shave the hair in front or the beard as the laymen do. They have generally a cross shaven on the head in accordance with a vow made in times of great pestilence.

Item this Armenian speech is generally the Saracen speech. But in their holy offices they use their own language, the alphabet of which is given here (p. 236).<sup>3</sup>

Item here in Antioch one passes from Greater to Little Armenia, and here the Sultan's country is divided from that of the Turkish emperor.

Item from Antioch to Adana, 3 days' journey,  
a town which Adam, the first man, commenced to build.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ghistele, p. 256. He speaks of St. Peter's chair where he sat as Pope for 7 years and refers to St. George's church and gate (p. 255), but says nothing about St. George's body. Cp. de la Brocquière, p. 313. There is a brief description of Antioch by L. von Rauter, 1567-71, in Röhricht-Meisner, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Ludolph (p. 135) speaks of a vast multitude of Christians conforming to the Latin rite and the Church of Rome, dwelling at the foot of the Black Mountains, which reached as far as Antioch.

<sup>3</sup> The School of Oriental and African Studies reports that this alphabet is reasonably correct.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. De la Brocquière, p. 317, but he says nothing about Adam.



𐌚 𐌸 𐌶 𐌵 𐌳 𐌶

e jeth tho yge yny n jon

𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌸 𐌴

ache zah gyen ho cad had

𐌴 𐌶 𐌵 𐌵 𐌴 𐌶

ge men ghy nū

𐌶 𐌶 𐌶 𐌴

scha vwa zah be ceh ka

𐌶 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌶 𐌶

zse vieff dun ale zo

𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌴

hyon pyur ke ve

𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌴

Item from Adana to Tharschen,<sup>1</sup> a town, 1 day's journey.

Item from Tharschen to Kurko,<sup>2</sup> 3 days' journey, a fine town lying on the sea, belonging formerly to the Greeks, who built hard by the town, on a rock in the sea, a fine castle called Medea, where the story of Jason was enacted.

<sup>1</sup> De la Brocquière (p. 318) speaks of Tarsus as a very ancient town with ancient buildings still to be seen in it. Cp. Murray, *Asia Minor*, 1895, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Kilindria, Cp. Murray, *Asia Minor*, p. 176.

Item from Kurko to Laranta, 3 days' journey,  
a ruined town.<sup>1</sup> About half way we passed by a castle called Marada. Here begins the province of Karamania. Town and district are subject to the Turkish emperor. Item the Turkish emperor's eldest son is in the possession of this province of Karamania during his father's life time, waging daily war against the Sultan. He gave us company and escort to his father at Adrianople. This prince was a comely young man of 24 years, having always with him 8,000 servants and soldiers. This prince has seven brothers whom we saw in Adrianople with the Turkish emperor, their father.

Item from Laranta to Kunio,<sup>2</sup> 2 days' journey.  
This is a fine large town, having in it a beautiful palace where this lord of Karamania, as eldest son of the Turkish emperor, keeps his court.

Item from Kunio to Burtzia [Brusa], 7 days' journey.  
We travelled through high mountains and many deserts, in which nothing grew except much cotton in little plants, which the inhabitants train, prepare, and turn into cotton. Item this town of Burtzia is fine and large and well built. It is subject to the Turkish emperor. I estimate that it is more than a good German mile in length and half a mile broad. It is full of people, ten times more, in my opinion, than in Cologne. They are for the most part merchants, and there are countless persons making silk goods, such as satin, gold and silver cloths, cramoisy and much camelot, so that one can buy there a fine camelot cloth for two ducats.

Item from Burtzia<sup>3</sup> to Constantinople, 3 days' journey.  
We travelled two days by land and one by water.

<sup>1</sup> Karaman, Cp. Murray, *Asia Minor*, p. 157; de la Brocquière, p. 321. L. von Rauter, 1567-1571, made this journey in the opposite direction, but by a different route. Röhricht-Meisner, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> L. von Rauter (Röhricht-Meisner, p. 434) describes Kunio as a town with 312 towers adorned with pictures in the Greek manner. There were 5 gates and in the town were the ruins of 2 castles, Cp. de la Brocquière p. 322. The ruins of the palace still exist. Murray, *Asia Minor*, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> De la Brocquière (p. 332) has a good description of Brusa with its bazaars for the sale of all kinds of silken stuffs, precious stones and a variety of merchandise. Cp. Murray, *Turkey in Asia*, 1878, p. 131; N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, pp. 225 ff.

Item just before one reaches Constantinople there lies a small built-up island in the sea called Galatee, of which St. Paul writes in his Epistles. On this we came to rest in an inn called Karphazarien, where generally the Venetians and other Christian merchants reside.<sup>1</sup> They maintain here a very fine monastery of brethren of our Lady under tribute to the Turkish emperor, where we went daily to hear Mass.

Item the following day we sailed across this small arm of the sea, a channel called the Arm of St. George, from this island to ad Galates, which channel is a gun shot in width, and reaches up to the town of Constantinople itself. On the opposite side was a ship, a merchantman, with the Turkish emperor's ships ready for war, of which at this time there lay there eight hundred galleys well armed with guns and other weapons of war, not counting other barges, ships, carvels, griffons and other craft in countless numbers, all ready for war.

Item Constantinople is a very fine city, large and strong, lying three cornered, one side beside the sea, another beside the Arm of St. George, and the third towards the land, and one measures from one corner to the other, on which stand great strong towers, half a German mile from each other. The side towards the land is surrounded with very strong walls and towers, sixteen feet thick, and in front of them are three walled ditches in which at this time various game ran about. Further the city is also surrounded by strong walls and towers on the two sides by the water, which the Turkish emperor, a few years ago, won from the Greeks, through their foolhardiness, although it seemed to me to be invincible.

Item inside this city of Constantinople are still two Francis-

<sup>1</sup> It was the Genoese who were established in Galata (Pera). On the Venetian settlement, see Heyd, I, pp. 249 ff, 285. It was situated with its quays and warehouses in the district comprised between the present Balouk Bazaar Kapoussi and the Gate of the Drungarii. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 1899, p. 214. De la Brocquière (p. 341), writing before the Turkish conquest, reports that none of the foreign nations was so powerful. The Venetians had their own *Bailo* to regulate their affairs and were independent of the Emperor. Cp. Mordtmann, *Esquisse Topographique de Constantinople*, p. 46; Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II, p. 12. After the conquest the privileges were confirmed by the Sultan, but Venetian goods were no longer duty-free.

can monasteries under tribute to the Turkish Emperor, where the monks celebrate Mass and sacraments secretly, without bells, and preach openly.<sup>1</sup>

Item as we were remaining quiet for three days at Constantinople, the Turkish Emperor sent one of his knights called Franck Kassan, who was a renegade Christian and a German by birth from Bresberg in Steiermark, who told me that I was to go forthwith before his master, at which I was alarmed, as I thought they would imprison me. I went with him to the Turkish Emperor's palace, to a lofty hall, where the Turkish Emperor<sup>2</sup> was standing with some two hundred of his lords. I was forced to prostrate myself three times on the ground and kiss it, as the German knight had instructed me. Then I came and stood before this mighty lord, some seven paces from him. He caused me to be asked, through the German knight, about many matters concerning which he desired to have the latest news, since the Turks and heathen at that time were in great perturbation and anxiety, because King Charles of France had taken Naples, Apulia and Calabria by force, and there were rumours in the land that he was about to cross the sea, in order to march against Jerusalem in force and conquer the Holy Land. He enquired of me concerning the arms and the forces of King Charles of France, and his might, of which I knew little except what I had heard at Venice and on board ship, but I answered in all matters as he desired. He caused me to be asked also who I was, where I was going, and what I was doing in that country. I replied that I was from Venice and followed our trade, since the Venetians were at that time in favour with the Turkish Emperor. The German told me that his lord had said that I should change my occupation, and that they were to offer me two hundred

<sup>1</sup> See Clavijo, p. 91. Kiechel 1585-1589 (p. 419) describes two monasteries at Pera in which were 12 brothers who went about the streets in their habits unmolested. The Franciscan monastery was a fine old building with a beautiful and large church, where Mass was celebrated openly every day. The monastery is shown on the plan by Bondelmontius (1422) reproduced by Mordtmann, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The Sultan in 1499 was Bayezid II. For the ceremonies observed at the Divan see A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, 1913, p. 187; N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, 1936, pp. 103 ff. Also Mundy, I, p. 36.

ducats a month, and I was to retain my faith if I would become his servant. But I was sorely afraid that they would deceive me, as I had given out that I was a merchant, and that I should then have to announce that I was a soldier. I therefore put off the matter with good words, and said that, as soon as I had made my report to my master in Venice concerning my dealings, I would return. Otherwise it had been my wish to have tried my fortune for four or five years at the Turkish Emperor's court. With these words I begged for a written safe-conduct for us to travel overland to Venice, which he forthwith ordered to be given to me. In addition he directed that we should be given a mounted escort as far as Newe, a town where his country ended. He also presented me, in the presence of all the lords, with a piece of quartz as thick as two hens' eggs, in which was a diamond, and in addition a white linen veil thirty ells long, embroidered with golden flowers, in honour of the knight called *saloeftar*, since all his knights wear such a veil wound round their heads. He also told the German knight that he was to conduct me to all places I wished to see. Thus we parted from this mighty lord, being obliged to go out of this hall backwards, so that I did not turn my back to him.

Item the German knight conducted me through the palace so that I could see the Emperor's household, court, and all his arrangements, and I will describe something of what I saw. Item this palace is very large and splendid beyond measure.<sup>1</sup> There are three large squares in the palace, where his attendants must appear once daily except on Fridays, which they keep as their Sabbath. For the Turkish Emperor gives audience there, hearing each suitor and doing justice. Item the Turkish Emperor's paid household is reckoned at 60,000, not counting men-at-arms, who are in his daily pay and are stationed always on the frontiers and do not return to the army, of which there are always some 200,000 soldiers, as well as the household staff, of whom I saw

<sup>1</sup> The Palace was the Yeni Sarayi (or Serai) or New Palace completed about 1457, so called to distinguish it from what was then the Eski Sarayi or Old Palace. Among European visitors it was usually called the Grand Seraglio. See N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, 1936, pp. 17, 58. Cp. Gainsford's *Description* in Mundy, I, p. 188.

the most part. He had 32,000 foot-soldiers, like bowmen in France, who always follow him or run after him, and in towns they keep order on the left hand. He has also six hundred knights called *Salofftar*,<sup>1</sup> who are mostly renegade Christians. He has also seven hundred *Spagalan*,<sup>2</sup> namely body servants. Further he educates always in his court seven or eight hundred young boys, who are captured in all the Christian countries. These he trains to be his knights called *Salofftar*, and gives them provisions, each according to his establishment. He has also some four hundred doorkeepers or porters, who keep the people and the gates, and see that they are locked. He has also stablemen, cooks, waiters, bakers, huntsmen, fishermen, ordnance masters and keepers and maintainers of game, more than 1,100 of them. He had also at this time eight running messengers whose spleen had been removed, who in truth run in a day and a night from Constantinople to Adrianople, which is a five days' journey on horseback.<sup>3</sup> Also housemasters, doorkeepers, men servants, and maids who wait on his women, more than seven hundred of them, and many more whom I did not see and cannot enumerate, so that he makes payments daily to 60,000 of his household, whose wages are paid monthly. Item we went into his stables close by the palace, where are three long stalls splendidly built, in each of which four hundred horses can stand. Item we went further to a large and pleasant garden beside the palace, in which grow many rare trees and fruits, and in which rare wild animals run loose.

Item we went further through the city and were allowed to enter many churches, which had formerly been Christian churches, but which were now full of wild animals.<sup>4</sup> I saw there

<sup>1</sup> ? Silihdar (Suluphtar) or weapon-bearer. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, 1913, pp. 98, 250; on the Sultan's household and army generally, see Lybyer, chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> Spagalan = Spahi-oghlan, youths on horseback. Lybyer, pp. 98, 250.

<sup>3</sup> Peiks, or runners on foot, men who, when boys, had their spleens removed, a common report among Western writers. Lybyer, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested (Ebersolt, *Constantinople et les Voyageurs du Levant*, 1918, p. 69) that von Harff may have left us the earliest evidence by a traveller of the systematic destruction of Christian shrines following the Turkish conquest. Sandys (p. 27) speaks of the Palace of Constantine as 'now made a stable for wilde beasts'.

ten lions unchained, three elephants, two gazelles, which are the animals from which musk is obtained. I saw many wild cats, rats, mice, hedgehogs, and other rare creatures, all without chains. Each animal has its own keeper, and he and the animal have their daily allowance from the Turkish Emperor.

Item we continued and came to a strong castle which the Turkish Emperor's father had caused to be built not long since with five strong towers and walls, so that there is a tower at each corner, and in the centre is the fifth, which is stronger and higher than the rest, wherein he keeps his treasure.<sup>1</sup> One of the towers has a door giving access to all, but there is no other door. I examined this castle closely from outside, but not from within.

Item not far from this castle we came to a palace called the Women's Garden, in which the old Turkish Emperor had a hundred and one legal wives living. It was told me however that the present Turkish Emperor has only seventy-two lawful wives, not all of whom live in the palace, but some of them live there, others at Adrianople, Philopolis and Wruskabalna. This women's palace<sup>2</sup> is very finely and pleasantly built, and in it every woman has her own apartment and servants, and in the centre of the palace is a very beautiful and pleasant garden with rare trees and fruits, in which they all may go together, and all their windows and doors open on to the garden, but there is only one door through which they must all enter, so closely are they guarded. Their house-guardians and servants are all eunuchs, and the bulk are renegade Christians. They go about in their gold dresses, and are all stout and fat like beer casks, so that they can do no harm.

Item we continued to a great market or square, which is more or less in the centre of the city, on which stand three towers. Two are reserved as prisons for criminals as a whole, in the other are confined lords and nobles who have committed crimes. Item in this square also the gallows are set up, and there beneath them

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Sandys, p. 26, 'The south-east angle of this City is taken up by the Seven Towers, called anciently *Yanicula*, employed, as the Tower of London, for a store-house of the *Sultans* treasure and munition.' This imperial palace, built in 1458, was also a state prison. Cp. Mundy, I, pp. 31, 184.

<sup>2</sup> See the detailed and interesting study of the Harem by N. M. Penzer, *The Harem*, 1936. Cp. Mundy, I, p. 28.

justice is executed daily. There was scarcely a day while I was there but five or six were executed upon or beneath it, one being hanged, another transfixed or quartered or beheaded,<sup>1</sup> since the Turkish Emperor executes strong justice throughout all his lands, so that none may kill another under penalty of life and goods, I saw also often great lords and others who were flogged with sharp rods through and out of the town, naked, with bread knives stuck through their limbs between skin and flesh. I was told that they had drawn a sword with intent to slay another, but had not succeeded. But if they had inflicted a wound the penalty would have been to lose the right hand, and in addition they would have been in their lord's mercy for life and goods, even if the offender were the Emperor's son.

Item beneath the gallows is the fish market which is very large and splendid, where you find daily much live and dead fish from fresh and salt water.

Item we went on to the chief church, called in Christian times St. Sophia's church,<sup>2</sup> but now the Turkish Emperor's mosque, or praying house. With the help of the German renegade knight I was allowed to enter. It is an indescribably beautiful and splendid church, which was built by the Christians. Above, below and on the sides it is all of marble, adorned with rare pictures in gold and mosaic work, but all the altars, with the pictures of the saints, are entirely destroyed and broken in pieces. They were made in our manner, but the heathen and Turks will have no pictures in their churches, which they say and believe to be idolatry. The old Turkish Emperor had presented to this church five hundred lamps which are lit daily. This church is also entirely roofed with lead from former times and has above, below and within four hundred and fifty doors, of which many are made entirely of cast metal.

<sup>1</sup> Sandys (p. 49) gives a gruesome list of punishments, but is surpassed by Mundy (I, p. 55) who provides a dreadful illustration of 'stakeing, gaunchinge and drubbing'.

<sup>2</sup> See generally W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *Sanctu Sophia*, 1894. There are descriptions before the conquest by de la Brocquière, p. 337; Tafur, p. 139; Clavijo, p. 71, later by Sandys (1610), pp. 24 ff; Mundy (1608-1628), I, p. 35 and notes. On the destruction and looting which followed the conquest see Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Capture of Constantinople*, 1903, p. 366.



Item there are also innumerable ruined Christian churches in this town. Some have been turned into heathen praying houses, and in the others are kept wild animals and birds which belong to the Emperor.

Item they took me further into long streets, in which none live but Jews.<sup>1</sup> The men are said to number 36,000, of whom each has to pay three ducats a year as tribute to the Turkish Emperor. There live also in the town many Christian Greeks paying tribute to the Turkish Emperor.

Item the Turkish women go about the streets with the face covered with a transparent black net, so that they can see everyone plainly, but one cannot distinguish their faces. It is also a custom in Turkey that women and maidens wear breeches to the knee, some made of leather, some of silk, some of linen cloth, and when a man wishes to sleep with his wife she goes before midday to the bath, and the husband after midday, and he gives the wife three aspers as bath-money, as much as three old crown shillings.

Item the Turks are Mahometans and keep to the law in all things, as I have described before concerning the heathen. They have their own language, some words of which I have retained as described below.<sup>2</sup>

#### Turkish Language

Item,

meck,	bread	gemortar,	eggs
sarap,	wine	stircke,	vinegar
schauwe,	water	jaesche,	good
heet,	meat	jheramasch,	bad
peuir,	cheese	gelgitalim,	a woman

<sup>1</sup> On the Jewish quarter, see Heyd, I, p. 249; Cp. Kiechel, p. 419. In the seventeenth century the Jews had 9 several quarters and 38 synagogues. Ed. Grimston, quoted in Mundy, I, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish specimens are inaccurate and in some cases grotesque, but for the most part identifiable. The word "gelgitalim" is very quaint in such a list. It has reference to disorderly conduct. (Note by The School of Oriental and African Studies.) See article by H. Stumme in "Festschrift Ernst Windisch dargebracht," Leipzig, 1914, pp. 127-137. Cp. *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 69 (1915), p. 208 and Band 73 (1920), p. 199.

adam,	a man	gee,	eat
jur,	washing	itz,	drink
beuym,	mine	jat,	sleep
goneck,	a shirt	gouwen,	God
tauck,	a hen	sagitan,	devil
balleck,	a fish	jahat,	a horse
thus,	salt	harpa,	oats
ben,	I	sama,	straw
schen,	thou	gammi,	a ship
hee,	yes	joldas,	a friend
jock,	no	byrsat,	a town
mum,	a candle	birckaewe,	a village

## Numbers

bijr,	one
icky,	two
oitz,	three
dort,	four
bees,	five
alti,	six
gedy,	seven
scheckis,	eight
dockuiss,	nine
on,	ten
jues,	hundred
binge,	thousand

galberi,	come here
alhari,	bring it here
salenmeck,	good day
ygon,	good morning
allamera,	good night
ben bilmes,	I do not understand it
ne texe bo,	what does that cost?
ben allayn,	I will buy it
nytze ygul geder bonuschart,	which is the way to the town?
aden neder bo,	what is that called?

Item, since we had to remain quiet here in Constantinople for

three weeks, in order to wait for the Venetian merchants who were not ready, we three went south-west on the sea from Constantinople to pass the time in seeing towns and districts. We travelled half a day's journey to where the great and mighty city of Troy<sup>1</sup> had stood, which is now a little town built recently close by. Further to Schutari, to Nigripunt and to Trapisunde [Trebizond],<sup>2</sup> which were formerly great and strong Christian cities, but now, a short time since, subjected to the Turkish Emperor, and straight across a gulf of the sea we came to a mountain called Monte Sancte,<sup>3</sup> on which live 14,000 Greek monks called Coleuri. Much could be written about them and about the before-mentioned towns and country, but it is my wish to keep strictly to this pilgrimage in order to be brief. So on the sixth day we returned to Constantinople.

Item we prepared ourselves for another journey by land, and bought, for each of us, for seven or eight ducats a small Turkish horse, and each a double linen sack like a market sack, which we hung from our saddles, and in them we placed on either side all our necessary goods, meal, provender and firing. As we seldom found an inn we had to manage as best we could with our goods. Each one had also to buy a linen sheet and carry it behind on his horse, in which we slept often beneath the blue sky.

Item from Constantinople to Adrianople, 5 days' journey.<sup>4</sup> This is a fine and large and pleasant town, lying on a large river flowing from Tartary. The Turkish Emperor often keeps his camp in this town,<sup>5</sup> in a very beautiful palace, into which we

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Tafur, p. 112; Clavijo, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> A Christian dynasty reigned over the small independent dynasty of Trebizond from 1204 to 1462, when it was swallowed up by the Ottoman Empire. Tafur was at Trebizond in 1437, p. 131. Cp. Clavijo, p. 112. See generally W. Miller, *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire*, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Clavijo (p. 113) speaks of many churches and monasteries outside the city.

<sup>4</sup> Von Harff followed the old post road to Adrianople, a route taken by Mundy in 1620. He took 6 days. Mundy, I, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Tafur (p. 126) visited Adrianople where the Grand Turk was encamped with his army. The town was the residence of the Turkish Sultans from 1361 until 1453, when Constantinople fell. Cp. Mundy, I, p. 49. De la Brocquière (pp. 343 ff.) was there in 1433 and gives a long description of the Turkish Court, and of the then Sultan (Amurath II) by whom the travellers were received in audience.

were taken. We saw there forty-two great copper pieces, each having three pieces nine times the length of my foot, which could be screwed into each other, and in the mouth of another cannon I put my knee, as well as my outstretched foot—and many other cannon. We went further into another house close by, which was full of whole and broken Christian bells which had been captured in Christian countries and carried there, from which cannon are cast. It was told me that each Turk, when he crosses a mountain or the sea to conquer a country, must bring back a piece of a bell. Such a collection made by three or four times a hundred thousand men makes a mighty heap, from which innumerable mighty cannon are cast.

Item we were shown in this palace seven sons of the Turkish Emperor. We had seen the eldest son in Karamania, as I have described before.<sup>1</sup> They were all comely youths and well-grown men.

Item from Adrianople to Filipolis [Philippopolis],

2 days' journey.

It is a very fine town which belonged formerly to the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> It was then called Philippenses, about which St. Paul has written in his Epistles etc. Here begins the land of Thrace.

Item from Filipolis to Baserack [Tatar-Bazardjik],

3 days' journey,

a fine town which lies in Upper Bulgaria and is entirely subject to the Turkish Emperor.

Item from Basersack to Tobinitza,<sup>3</sup>

1 day's journey,

a fine town, through which runs a river called the Strumonach.

Item from Tobinitza to Wruskabalna [Uskub],

3 days' journey,

a very large town. We crossed a great river called Vardar. Here one reaches Lower Bulgaria which is entirely subject to the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Mundy (p. 54) took 4 days from Adrianople. The city is described by de la Brocquière (p. 355), who saw the situation of Philip's Palace which had been demolished, but the walls remained.

<sup>3</sup> This must be Dupnitza on the Struma.

Turkish Emperor. Item we continued from Wruskabalna and, riding half by night and half by day from one town to another, we came to Venice, some twenty days' journey, so that I cannot actually describe the whole daily journeys, for many of the towns and villages are a day's journey, or half-a-day's journey, or an hour's riding distance from each other, but I will name the towns through which we passed.

Item from Wruskabalna to Pristina [Prushtina], a town. We crossed a high mountain.

Item from Pristina to Mittrix [Mitroviça], a town. Here begins Serbia, a large district entirely subject to the Turkish Emperor.

Item from Mittrix to Wolffsdorne [Vuchitrn],<sup>1</sup> a fine town.

Item from Wolffsdorne to Nuewemarschet [Novibazar], a town.

Item from Nuewemarschet to Prepola [Priepolje], a town.

Item from Prepola to Pleuua [Plevna], a town.

Item from Pleuua to Gotzei [Gottschce], a town.

Item from Gotzei to Tzernitza [Syenitza?], a town.

Item from Tzernitza to Neuwe [Novesinic], a fine town, which lies on a great river and contains two strong hill castles subject to the Turkish Emperor, whose country ends here towards the southwest.

Item from Neuwe to Steyn [Stein], a fine trading town, adjoining Hungary, where we stayed for a time while the merchants traded their merchandise. During this time we four travelled for three days through a pleasant fruitful and strong country in the Kingdom of Hungary, as far as the chief town Oven [Ofen], where the King holds his court.<sup>2</sup> We saw the town, country and the King in his court, which would take too long to describe. For brevity's sake I will keep strictly to the route of this pilgrimage. As we passed through the Kingdom of Hun-

<sup>1</sup> Vuchitrn. The Croat components are vuk = wolf, and trn = thorn, but von Harff would have reached Wolffsdorne before Mittrix.

<sup>2</sup> Stein would be more or less on the route to Pola, but the reference to Ofen, which must be Buda-Pesth, is beyond me. It was some 200 miles from Stein. Possibly a copyist has omitted something here. It is to be noted that Ofen does not figure in v. Harff's itinerary at the end of the book (p. 300).

gary I retained certain words from their language, the names of which I will set down here.<sup>1</sup>

## Item:

kinge,	bread	mee,	I
boir,	wine	igas,	true
beess,	water	reymigas,	lied [not true]
oist,	meat	ember,	a man
scheffret,	cheese	assanember,	a woman
tickman,	eggs	istant,	God
etzet,	vinegar	oirdach,	the devil
olie,	oil	jurge,	a candle
tick,	a hen	igal,	to drink
halet,	a fish	ich,	to eat
schoit,	salt	allische,	sleep
iho,	good	gansda,	a host [farmer]
nempho,	bad	alma,	an apple
thale,	a dish	kirtwe,	berries [pear]
glans,	a spoon	thir,	a nut
haseck,	a pot	prust,	money
gest,	a knife	frint,	a gulden
wasfasick,	a kettle	salma,	straw
salus,	an inn	seua,	hay
loit,	a horse	meess,	honey
sab,	oats		

*To count*

itz,	one	hat,	six
katich,	two	heet,	seven
hara,	three	noltz,	eight
netzo,	four	glentz,	nine
jech,	five	tyss,	ten

<sup>1</sup> This vocabulary has been checked by Dr. Szenczi of The School of Slavonic and East European Studies. The words can be identified, but many are incorrectly transcribed, and in some cases the accusative is used instead of the nominative. Three phrases have not been identified. See article by V. Toth in *Magyar Nyelv*, x (1914), pp. 28-30, referred to by F. Babinger in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, LXIV (1920), pp. 71-75.

age dago prust,	give me small change for a gulden
mein nudar,	how much will you give?
menada das,	what does that cost?
mege weschen,	I want to buy that
kene ve ast,	what is that called?
mosmech ingart,	wash my shirt for me
age da kinna,	give me something to drink

Item when a Hungarian leaves his house in the morning he says:

Iste morgen beledes,    God give us a pleasant day.

Item the other replies:

bickytzinia,    go in peace.

Item we returned to Steyne to join our company.

Item from Steyne to Kurtzula [Curzola I.], a town which belongs to the Ragusans.

Item from Kurtzula to Lesina [Lesina I.], a town on the sea subject to the Lordship of Venice.

Item from Lesina to Saedyrss [S. Andrea I.], a chief town in Dalmatia.

Item from Saedirss to Novo [Nona], a town.

Item from Nova to Paeche [Pago I.], a town.

Item from Paeche to Reebe [Arbe I.], a town.

Item from Reebe to Aser, a town.

Item from Aser to Kerss [Cherso I.], a town.

Item from Kerss to Albaen [Albona], a town.

Item from Albaen to Plauwin, a town.

Item from Plawin to Medulen [Medolino], a town in Slavonia.

Item from Medulen to Paele [Pola], a town in Istria, all subject to the Venetians.

Item from Paele to Parenzo, a town in Istria subject to the Venetians, of which I have written before. There we boarded a ship<sup>1</sup> and sailed to Venice, although we could have travelled there on horseback, but the road is roundabout and steep.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first mention of a ship, although von Harff must have been cruising from island to island on the Dalmatian coast.

Item from Parenza to Venice, 100 miles.  
I have written before of this city.<sup>1</sup> Here I prepared myself for the long journey to St. James in Galicia<sup>2</sup> with bills of exchange and other necessities.

Item from Venice to Padua, 25 miles.  
We travelled by water. This is a very fine circular town surrounded by three walls, and in front of each wall runs a separate river, and the outermost walls are seven Italian miles round.

Item this town is subject to the lordship of Venice. Formerly they had their own native lord, called the lord of Carrea, but the Venetians summoned him under safe conduct and struck off his head.<sup>3</sup> Then they possessed the town. Item at the end of the innermost town is a castle, in which the lordship of Venice at that time had as prisoners the Queen of Cyprus with two sons,

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> The pilgrimage to Compostella was long and dangerous. The roads were bad and beset by thieves and beggars. Cp. von Harff's experiences p. 276 below, also Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, pp. 205-6, who met 9 Englishmen and Scotchmen going to Compostella. He tried to dissuade them, but they would go, and he accompanied them. When they reached Compostella they were almost starving. Only one of them survived the return journey and that was Boorde himself, who was a doctor. He adds that if he were of the King's Council he would set in the stocks all persons who set out for Compostella without licence, as being a waste of valuable lives, further that he would rather go 5 times to Rome than once from Orleans to Compostella. Von Harff followed a usual pilgrim's route, but mentions many places not marked in other itineraries. I have checked his route with the itineraries given by Miss G. G. King, *The Way of Saint James*, 1920, III, p. 576 ff, and with the following travellers, Kunig von Vach (c. 1500, *Introd.* by Konrad Häbler), Peter Rindfleisch (1506), Sebald Ortel (1521-22) and Robert Langton (d. 1524), and have filled in many gaps from *Le Livre de la Description des Pays de Gilles le Bouvier*, ed. by Dr. E. T. Hamy (*Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Géographie*) Paris, 1908. Dr. Hamy, with the ingenuity of a modern detective, has identified (in App.V) most of the places mentioned in v. Harff's itinerary. He prints also a number of other fifteenth-century itineraries. See also 'An English XV-century Pilgrimage Poem' by E. S. de Beer, *Notes and Queries*, 187, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> The Carrara family held Padua from 1318 to 1405 when it passed under the dominion of Venice. Francesco Novello and his two sons were taken to Venice after the surrender of Padua and strangled in prison in 1406.



who were fine, well set-up men.<sup>1</sup> They were allowed to go out of the castle, but only under strong guard. The Venetians caused them to be captured in their youth and had the father poisoned, so that they seized the Kingdom of Cyprus, which they possess to this day. Item in this town is a fine monastery of friars minor called St. Anthony's.<sup>2</sup> As one enters on the left hand, in a choir above the altar, lies St. Anthony, a holy monk, in a beautiful coffin, where it is said great miracles are performed. And in front of the monastery, on a marble column, the Venetians have set up a metal figure in armour on a metal horse, finely wrought, as a memorial to a captain who fought nobly in their wars.<sup>3</sup> Inside this church, in the sacristy, we were shown and had exhibited to us seventy gilded monstresances with relics. Also in the sacristy we saw wood carvings as beautiful as could be found in the world.

Item in the monastery of St. Justina are Benedictines. In the church,<sup>4</sup> in an altar, lies St. Matthew the Apostle in person without his head, which is at Trier. I was also shown his body in Rome, as I have written before. The blunders of priests I leave to God to settle. And close by this altar is another altar in which St. Luke the Evangelist lies in person. Also close by, in an altar, lies the holy virgin St. Justina. There lie also in this monastery in person St. Prosodacius, a bishop, St. Maximinus, St. Felicitas,

<sup>1</sup> This lady was Marietta of Patras, the mistress of John II of Cyprus and mother of James II (the Bastard). She was never queen of Cyprus and never even pretended to be. The two bastard princes were Eugene and John. They were brought from Cyprus with Marietta, their grandmother, and their sister Charla, by order of the Council of Ten dated 30 October 1476. The Council decided to lodge them in a convent in Venice, and then, on 16 January 1477, to send them to Padua, but it appears that they were not sent there until 1478. Charla died in 1480, but Marietta lived until 1503. It is clear that the sons were there in 1499, as von Harff says. They were still there in 1500. The story that the Venetians poisoned James II was current but probably unfounded. (I am indebted for this note to Sir George Hill, whose *History of Cyprus* is now in course of publication.)

<sup>2</sup> The Church of Sant' Antonio or Il Santo, completed in 1307 except for the cupola over the choir which was not added until 1424.

<sup>3</sup> The equestrian statue of Gattamelata by Donatello, completed in 1453.

<sup>4</sup> The Church of Santa Giustina supposed to have been built on the site of a Temple of Concord. The present edifice was begun in 1502. Fabri (III, p. 393) has a list of relics, and mentions the picture by St. Luke, C.p. Rieter, p. 39.

a virgin, St. Urinus, a holy man, who brought the two holy bodies of St. Matthew the Apostle, and St. Luke the Evangelist across the sea to the monastery, as well as many of the Innocents, whom Herod had killed on account of Christ our Lord.

Item in the cathedral at Padua is a bishopric. In the church, above an altar, is a picture of our blessed Lady, which St. Luke is said to have painted, and westwards, in a little choir, lies St. Daniel, the martyr, in person.

Item there is also in this city a university, with students from all nations.

Item while we were resting for three days at Padua we went, according to our vow, westwards a mile and a half to our blessed Lady of Montertoin, as we had vowed in our peril in the ship,<sup>1</sup> where there was a great crowd of people from Lombardy. On the way to the monastery of Montertoin we found, on a little hill some ten roods long and broad, thirty hot, boiling springs issuing from the earth, which ran into fine stone baths, where lame and sick person, bathe and are cured. One drinks the water also in April for all ills of the body, which gives one a better purge than if one had swallowed a whole chemist's shop, as I have proved. Item a short half mile from there southwards there are other similar hot, boiling springs close to a church called St. Bartholomeus, where many cripples and lame persons are cured. I saw many who affirmed that they had been made whole there. We went further to the monastery Montertoin, and having performed our pilgrimage we returned in the evening to Padua.

Item from Padua to Vincent [Vicenza], 18 miles,  
a town of the Venetians.

Item from Vincent to Verona, 30 miles,  
a fine town of the Venetians, of which I wrote before on my way to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was common for pilgrims during a great storm to make a collection and offer to undertake pilgrimages to certain shrines as soon as they landed again. It appears however that the *Patroni* frequently pocketed the money instead of giving it to the pilgrims who went to fulfil the vow, and the Venetian Senate had to step in to stop the abuse. Casola, p. 80. Otto Heinrich, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, visited 'Monterton' in 1521 and bathed there. The shrine must be Montegrotto, south of Padua. Rohricht-Meisner, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 10.

Item from Verona to Piskera [Peschiera], 10 miles,  
a small town lying on a lake, Venetian.

Item from Piskera to Brixia [Brescia], 25 miles,  
a fine town of the Venetians, having above the town a very fine  
and strong castle.

Item from Brixia to Kuichgey [Chiari], 12 miles,  
a large village of the Venetians.

Item from Kuichgey to Ponthoye [Pontoglio], 7 miles,  
a small town of the Venetians with a river running through it:  
one rides in across a bridge.

Item from Ponthoye to Martenningo, [Martinengo], 5 miles,  
a small town of the Venetians.

Item from Martenningo to Treuilie [Treviglio], 10 miles,  
a little town belonging to Milan. Here begins the lordship of  
Milan. One has to take a pass into the town.

Item from Treuilie to Cassan [Cassano], 2 miles.  
Here one crosses a river and must produce a pass. If you have  
none you have to ride back again.

Item from Cassan to Meylaen [Milan], 18 miles,  
a fine, large and pleasant town, the country and town subject to  
its own duke, with a fine castle at the end of the town, lying to the  
west, into which we were taken.<sup>1</sup> This castle has three outer forti-  
fications. As one enters the first, on the left hand, is a great  
building and chamber, which was full of armour and small and  
great cannon hanging and standing there. One goes further on,  
behind the castle, to where is a beautiful and pleasant garden, in  
which were all kinds of animals and birds counterfeited in  
plants and growing flowers. And on the left hand are the duke's  
stables, very lofty, and vaulted with ninety-one stalls, the  
dividing posts being stone pillars which support the roof.

Item in the cathedral<sup>2</sup> above the altar, in the roof, is a marble

<sup>1</sup> The Castello first built by Galeazzo II Visconti in the latter half of the fourteenth century aroused the astonishment of all travellers. Cp. Tafur, p. 179; Rozmital, pp. 118, 192; de Beatis (1517-1518), p. 175. The Duke was Lodovico il Moro, d. 1508. Von Harff must have been there in the spring or early summer of 1499. The French occupied Milan in October of that year.

<sup>2</sup> The Cathedral was much altered under Cardinal Borromeo (d. 1584). He cleared away the tombs of the lords of Milan, Visconti and Sforza. E. Noyes, *Milan* (Med. Towns Series), pp. 236, 244.

gilt crucifix, beneath which hangs a single tooth like a plough-share, which the emperor Constantine had made from one of the nails with which Christ our Lord was nailed to the Cross, by which he overcame all his enemies. Item in this cathedral above the high altar, between the vaulting and the ground, are nine Dukes of Milan embalmed in coffins set up against a pillar. Item in the middle of the cathedral stands [?] our blessed Lady very graciously. Item southwards from this cathedral is a very beautiful and rich hospital,<sup>1</sup> into which we were taken to see its richness. The house has a head hospital-master, who told us that he gave food and drink daily to 1,600 persons, not counting the sick, and inside it is arranged very orderly, with a chancellor, clerks, apothecaries, barbers, doctors, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, each party having there his own house and room, so that the chancellor has each year to account to the master and to those appointed for that purpose for at least 30,000 Milanese ducats.

Item near the castle is a church called after St. Ambrosius,<sup>2</sup> where he lies in person.

Item close to the cathedral is a beautiful palace<sup>3</sup> wherein the old Duchess used to live, in which is also a fine arsenal, where the Duke's archers are lodged very orderly about the arsenal.

Item Milan is a fine and large town, well built throughout but not surrounded by walls. It has within it fine long streets in which the craftsmen dwell apart, such as a street full of armourers, another full of sailmakers, another full of smiths, and another full of swordmakers and all kinds of craftsmen.<sup>4</sup>

Item in Milan it seems to my feeble understanding that I saw there the loveliest women in all my travels, and in Venice the richest, in Cologne the proudest, and in Moabar the blackest.

<sup>1</sup> The vast Ospedale Maggiore, founded by Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria. It was begun in 1456.

<sup>2</sup> The Basilica of Sant' Ambrogio.

<sup>3</sup> Corte Ducale or Corte d'Arengo. Rozmital (p. 117) was received there by Galeazzo and his mother, the Duchess Bianca.

<sup>4</sup> Tafur (p. 179) speaks of the streets and houses of the armourers, spear-makers and the saddlers and tailors, who made the uniforms and materials of war. The craftsmen could supply a ruler with everything he needed, though he were the greatest lord in Italy.

Item this town of Milan has large suburbs, so that it is said that out of the suburb to the north one could summon 1,500 armed men.

Item from Milan to Puffeola [Buffalora], 17 miles,  
riding always northwards.

Item from Puffeola to Navarra [Novara], 10 miles,  
a little town and a Milanese castle. Here one crosses a river  
which flows to Milan.

Item from Navarra to Fertzelis [Vercelli], 10 miles,  
a fine small town. One rides over a long wooden bridge; the  
river is called the Salue [Sesia]. Here begins the country of  
Piedmont, belonging to the dukes of Savoy.

Item from Fertzelis to Salass, 7 miles.

Item from Salass to Schauasch [Chivasso], 17 miles,  
a little town of Piedmont. We had by the way to cross two rivers  
through two towns belonging to the Margrave of Montferrat. At  
these rivers, coming from Milan, you have to bring a pass with  
you if you wish to cross over. Otherwise you have to ride back  
and get one. On the way on the left hand you see many fine  
hill castles, all belonging to the Margrave of Montferrat.

Item from Schauasch to Turin, 10 miles,  
a fine town. It is the seat of government of the Duke of Savoy. In  
it is a fine castle, where from time to time the Duke holds his  
court. Here begins another language, half-French and half-  
Italian, also different dress for the men and women in the  
French manner, for the women throughout Savoy wear gener-  
ally broad woollen hoods pressed close down on the head-cloth.

Item from Turin to Rivole [Rivoli], 5 miles,  
a small town beside a mountain of Savoy. Here one begins to  
reach the mountains.

Item from Rivole to Avienna [Avigliana], 5 miles,  
a little town with a castle belonging to Savoy.

Item from Savoy to Susan [Susa], 10 miles,  
a little town of Savoy.

Item from Susan to Novalese, 3 miles,  
a village. Here one ascends Mt. Cenis, which is very high and

rocky, and at this time—the beginning of May<sup>1</sup>—it was covered with snow, so that we had to have three people of the country to conduct us up the mountain. And high up on the mountain we found guides from the other side who knew how to lead our horses down the steep snow, while each of us sat on a sledge and travelled down the mountain over the frozen snow very quickly into the valley.<sup>2</sup> There lies a village at the foot of Mt. Cenis called Ullenborgho [Lanslebourg], 8 miles.

From Novalesa up and down Mt. Cenis to Ullenburgo, 8 miles. Item here at Ullenburgo, a large village, the miles end and become leagues, of which five make up three German miles.

Item from Ullenburgo to St. Michele [St. Michel-de-Maurienne], a large village, 4 leagues.

Item from St. Michele to St. John de Moriana [St. Jean de Maurienne], 2 leagues, which is a little town. The cathedral is in charge of a bishop, who is the lord with the right of justice over life and limb. In the cathedral we were shown two fingers of St. John the Baptist, with which he pointed to Christ our Lord, saying: 'Behold the Lamb of God' etc.

Item from St. John de Mariana to Aqua Bella [Aiguebelle], 6 leagues, a small town.

Item from Aqua Bella to Roschet [La Rochette], 2 leagues, a town with a hill-castle belonging to Savoy.

Item from Roschat to Alafart [Allevard], 2 leagues, a small town. Here begins the country of Delphiny, from which the first-born of the King of France takes his name, since the country is subject to him.

Item from Alafart to Guntzelin [Goncelin], a little town, 1 league.

Item from Guntzelin to Gracionopolim [Grenoble], 4 leagues,

<sup>1</sup> May 1499. See introd. p. xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Travellers were brought down from the pass to Lanslebourg on a sort of toboggan or wooden sledge, this form of transport being called 'glisser à la ramasse'. The men were called 'marons'. The earliest mention of this form of transport seems to be in 1476. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, pp. 165, 259. Adam of Usk almost perished with cold here in June 1406. *Chronicle*, ed. by E. M. Thompson, 1904, p. 281.

across a wooden bridge. The river is called Ijsula [Isère], where one has to pay toll for beast and man. Gracionopolim is a fine small town and lies on both sides of the river Ijsula. A stone bridge crosses the river. It is the chief town of Delphiny, and the King of France has his chancellery of the district here. Item below the town another swift river called Draco [Drac] runs into the Jisula, and loses its name there.

Item from Gracionopolim to Morea [Moirans], a little town,  
4 leagues.

Item from Morea to Tult [Tullins], a little town, 1 league.

Item from Tult to Arbene [L'Albenc], 1 league.

In this town live only box-tree comb makers, since great forests of box trees grow hereabouts,<sup>1</sup> beside a fine hill castle on the left hand, called Castellum Novum, in Delphiney.

Item from Arbene to Marcellin [St. Marcellin], a little town,  
2 leagues.

Item from Marcellin to St. Anthony de Vienne [St. Antoine de Vienne], 2 leagues.

This is a small town standing on a little hill belonging to the abbot of the monastery, who has the right of life and limb. In this town there is a very beautiful monastery. In the church, above the high altar, rests St. Anthony in person, in a fine silver gilt shrine, but it is only shown to great lords who desire to see it. On the left of this high altar they give you red wine to drink which has run through the holy body of St. Anthony, and on the same side, in a choir, they showed us the saint's arm complete, also in the sacristy they showed us innumerable relics. Here this abbot maintains two hospitals, one for women, the other for men who have the mark of St. Anthony's fire on hands or feet.<sup>2</sup>

Item from Anthony de Vienne to Romans, 3 leagues,  
on our way to St. James, travelling always south-west. Romans is a small town. Here one crosses a stone bridge. The river is called the Jisula [Isère].

<sup>1</sup> De Beatis who passed that way in 1518 speaks of the box-tree comb-makers at Larbe (p. 151).

<sup>2</sup> This was the monastery of St. Anthony, suppressed during the French Revolution. It was founded in 1095 and was devoted to curing people afflicted with the disease known as St. Anthony's fire. Cp. de Beatis, p. 151.

Item from Romans to Valencia [Valence], 3 leagues,  
a town.<sup>1</sup> It is subject to a bishop.

Item from Valencia to Loreum [Loriol], 3 leagues,  
a small town. Here for half a mile we had to cross a river by boat.

Item from Loreum to Montelmar [Montélimart], 4 leagues,  
a town with a castle—French.

Item from Montelmar to Castrum Novum [Châteauneuf],  
1 league,  
a small town lying between two mountains.

Item from Castrum Novum to Parvum oppidum, a small  
town, 1 league.

Item from Parvum oppidum to Petra lata [Pierrelatta], 1 league.  
This is a franchise with a small castle lying by itself on a small  
rock.

Item from Petra lata to Palude [La Palud], a little town,  
1 league.

Item from Palude to St. Spiritu [Pont St. Esprit], 1 league,  
a town. Here one rides across a long stone bridge, which is  
twenty wide stone arches long. The river is called Rodans  
[Rhône] and above the bridge the Jisola [Isère] runs into the  
river and loses its name.

Item here at St. Spiritu begins the province called Languedoc,  
belonging to the kingdom of France.

Item from St. Spiritu to Balneoin [Bagnols-sur-Cèze], a little  
town, 2 leagues.

Item from Balneoin to Valgeer [Couvillargues], a village,  
3 leagues.

Item from Valgeer to Renouin [Remoulins], a little town,  
2 leagues.

Item from Renouin to Besoso [Uzès], a village, 1 league.

Item from Besoso to Nimiss [Nîmes], 2 leagues,  
which is a very fine town subject to the King of France, who has a  
fine small castle with four strong towers at the end of the town,  
eastwards.

Item in the cathedral, above the high altar, lies St. Castor in  
person, in a silver gilt shrine very costly adorned.

Item at the end of this town, towards the west, is an ancient rare

<sup>1</sup> For a description of Valence, see de Beatis, pp. 151-152.



and lofty palace built up<sup>1</sup> in the old manner like the Colosseum at Rome and the one at Verona and at Pola,<sup>2</sup> which I have already described. It seems to me that they are built broader and finer than nowadays. In the palace there live some sixty families.

Item outside the town southwest are fine and pleasant springs, which are conducted into the town ditches and keep them full of water. Item around this town and the whole province of Languedoc is a pleasant flat country, full of vines and olive trees and fruit enough and to spare.

Item from Nimiss to Mila [Milhaut], a village with a castle,  
1 league.

Item from Mila to Vitschaffo [Aiguesvives?], a village, 1 league.

Item from Vitschaffo to Luncele [Lunel], a town, 2 leagues.

Item from Luncele to Zambres, a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Zambres to Mompalier [Montpellier], 2 leagues.

On the way on the left hand one sees the Mer Mediterranum. Mompalier is a fine town lying on a small hill, the third chief town in French Languedoc, lying half a league from the sea. The chief church is St. Germanus.<sup>3</sup> It is very lofty. It was built formerly by a Pope and is built with towers which are full of beautiful bells. This same Pope gave to the church many rare ornaments. Item close to the market ad Sanctum Firminum, in the church, lies St. Cleophas in person.

Item from Mompalier to Lupiana [Loupian], 5 leagues,  
a franchise. We travelled all the way beside the sea.

Item from Lupiana to St. Tyberium [St. Thibéry], a small town,  
3 leagues.

Item from St. Tyberio to Besias [Béziers], 3 leagues,  
a large town in Languedoc, the three chief towns of which are Mompalier, Besyas and Tolosa.

<sup>1</sup> Most travellers speak of the amphitheatre as crowded with houses. Cp. *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, p. 231. Mortoft (1658) 'when one is on the topp of all it seems like a Bourgh or little village', p. 27, and my note, p. 26; Ernstinger (1608) 'hat auch inwendig etlich gemächer und im hof dise gebey vil heusse', p. 172. C. Maxwell, *The English Traveller in France*, 1698-1815, p. 61, quotes a traveller of 1724 who describes the amphitheatre as 'choked up by houses and rubbish'. It was not cleared until 1809.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> The cathedral has been restored out of all recognition. See V. Markham, *Romanesque France*, p. 407.

Item from Besias to Capistanie [Capestang], a small town,  
2 leagues.

Item from Capistanie to Kabesack [Cabézac], three inns,  
3 leagues.

Item from Kabesack to Pischeri [Puicherie], a franchise,  
4 leagues.

Item from Pischeri to Trebes [Trèbes],  
2 leagues,  
a small town. Here one rides across a stone bridge. The river is called, Haudi [Aude].

Item from Trebes to Karkason [Carcassonne], 1 league,  
which comprises two fine towns divided by the river Haudi. It lies on a little hill, very strong and well fortified, with walls and towers.<sup>1</sup> Therefore they call this town the castle to distinguish it from the other town, both French.

Item from Karkason to Pischinge [Pezens], a franchise,  
2 leagues.

Item from Pischinge to Alsona [Alsonne], a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Alsona to Villa Pint [Villapinte], a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Villa Pint to Castello Novo [Castelnaudary], a franchise with a castle,  
2 leagues.

Item from Castello Novo to Allaberdis [La Bastide?], a franchise,  
1 league.

Item from Aleabardis to St. Martin, a village, 1 league.

Item from St. Martin to Fionet [Avignonet], a franchise,  
2 leagues.

Item from Fionet to Villa Frank [Villefranche], a small town,  
1 league.

Item from Villa Frank to Vera Novella [Villeneuve], a franchise,  
1 league.

Item from Vera Novella to Faschega [Bazieue], a franchise,  
1 league.

Item from Faschega to Monisgart [Montgiscard], a franchise,  
1 league.

Item from Monisgart to Castelneer [Castanet], 2 leagues.

Item from Castelneer to Tolosa [Toulouse], 2 leagues.  
This is a fine town, lying in Languedoc, subject to the king of

<sup>1</sup> Carcassonne was not much visited at this time, but see Ernsteringer (1608), p. 177, and Mortoft (1658), p. 22.

France. Beside this town runs a great river, crossed by a wooden bridge, called Corona [Garonne]. Here Languedoc ends, and on the other side of the bridge is Jasconien [Gascony]. On this river is a great mill which has always twelve wheels working, grinding corn, making paper and woollen clothes.<sup>1</sup> It was told me as a fact that they paid a hundred crowns daily to the king of France as taxes. Item inside Tolosa is a church called St. Saturninus,<sup>2</sup> in which he lies in person. There lie also in this church in person six apostles, namely St. James the Greater,<sup>3</sup> St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Philip and St. James the Less, without his head, which is at Compostella in Galicia, and St. Barnabas the Apostle. There lie also in this church in person the following saints, St. Exuperius, a bishop, St. Silvius, St. Papulus, St. Hylarius, all bishops, St. Honoratius, St. Claudius, martyr, St. Symphorianus, martyr, St. Nychostratus, martyr, St. Castor, martyr, and St. Symplicius, St. Ciricius and St. Julita, his mother. St. Ascicius, martyr, St. Victor, martyr, St. George, knight and martyr, as one says, St. Egidius, abbot, St. Gilbertus, abbot, St. Aymundus, confessor, St. Honestus, confessor.

Item they showed us also inside this church, in a sacristy, a book of the Evangelists which is written entirely in gold letters, which they say St. John Evangelist wrote with his own hand, also a back tooth of St. Christopher, also a very fine stone called Camaziel, which the Emperor Charles is said to have worn on his breast, which stone he wore as a sign of his victories: he brought all these holy apostles and holy bodies to Tolosa. They showed us also the horn of Roland, the giant, and many other worthy relics.

Item from Tolosa to Bibrack [Pibrac], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Bibrack to Regofin [Leguevin], a village, 1 league.

Item from Regofin to Posedran [Puyodran], a franchise, 1 league.

<sup>1</sup> Ernstinger (p. 178) speaks of two large mills.

<sup>2</sup> St. Sernin. See V. Markham, *Romanesque France*, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> There was bitter rivalry between Toulouse and Compostella, as to which church possessed the holy body of St. James, and von Harff has some illuminating remarks on the subject at p. 275. Ernstinger (pp. 179-180) describes the relics and the precious reliquaries in which they were kept, also Roland's horn, which still sounded, and Charlemagne's Apocalypse, but he says that it was written by order of the Emperor. Sebald Ortel (p. 70) had a printed list of the relics.

Item from Posedran to Lilo in Jordaen [L'Isle-Jourdain],  
2 leagues,  
a little town in Gascony belonging to the Count of Armjacken  
[Armagnac].

Item from Lilo in Jordaen to Ghimunt [Gimont], a town,  
2 leagues.

Item from Ghimunt to Obiet [Aubiet], a little town, 1 league.

Item from Obiet to Marschan [Marsan], a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Marschan to Aest [Auch], 2 leagues,  
a town with its own bishop, which is subject to the Count of  
Armjacken [Armagnac] in Gascony.

Item from Aest to Barange [Barran], a little town, 3 leagues.

Item from Barange to Lilia ad Arbisan [L'Ile d'Arbeissan], a  
little town, 1 league.

Item from Lilia ad Arbisan to Monte Scheion [Montesquiou],  
1 league,  
a franchise with a hill-castle.

Item from Monte Scheion to Polion [Pouylebon], a fran-  
chise, 1 league.

Item from Polion to Marsiack, [Marsiac], 2 leagues,  
a small town belonging to the King of France, lying in Gascony.

Item from Marsiack to Maleburget [Maubourget], 2 leagues,  
a small French town. Here ends the County of Armjacken  
[Armagnac] at the river which runs beside the town, and on the  
other side of the river begins the county of Bern. It is said that  
Dietrich von Bern was born here. The county belongs now to  
the King of Navarre. It is now called the county of Foix.

Item from Maleburget to Momminge [Mornay], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Momminge to Noya [Nay], a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Noya to Morlantz, [Morlaas] a little town,  
2 leagues.

Item from Morlantz to Burgerbe [Bourgarbe], 3 leagues,  
a franchise. Here we crossed a heath.

Item from Burgerbe to Artis [Artiz], 2 leagues,  
a very lengthy franchise, lying on a mountain.

Item from Artis to Castetin [Castelis], a little franchise,  
2 leagues.

Item from Castetin to Ortes [Orthez], 1 league,  
 a town with a fine hill castle belonging to the King of Navarre.  
 We rode in across a stone bridge. The river is called Lugane, not  
 broad but shallow and stony.

Item from Ortes there is no good inn for you and your horse  
 until St. James. If you wish to eat or drink you have to buy by  
 the way, and you will find neither oats, hay or straw for your  
 horse. You must sleep on the ground and eat barley.

Item the whole of this country as far as Salvaterra [Sauvetterre]  
 is called Gascony, where the women wear commonly a  
 twisted horn straight up on the head, two spans long, with linen  
 cloths in front. Men and women go about like this.



Item from Ortes to Hospitale de Olioen [L'Hopital d'Orion],  
 a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Hospitael de Olioen to Salva terra [Sauveterre],  
2 leagues,  
 a little town with a castle belonging to the King of Navarre.  
 Here Gascony ends as one crosses a bridge. The river is called  
 Lugana [Gave]. So begins the land of Pascaien [Biscay].

Item here at Salva terra you must pay for each piece of gold

an ordijs,<sup>1</sup> which equals four to a stiver. You must do this under your sworn oath, or you are searched, and if they find that you have more, you are in danger of life and goods, but you pay nothing for silver money.

Item from Salva terra to St. Paley [Saint Palais], 2 leagues, first, not far from the little town of Salva terra across a stone bridge (not broad), you have to cross a river called Losasia [Gave]. Paley is a franchise. There, for each piece of gold which you have with you, you must pay, under your sworn oath, for every two gold pieces an ordijs.

Item from St. Paley to Astabat [Ostebat], 2 leagues, a franchise. Here you have to pay for three pieces of gold which you have by you, under your sworn oath, two ordijs, and three and a half ordijs as toll for your horse.

Item from Astabat to St. Johanne de Pede Port [S. Jean Pied-de-Port], 3 leagues, a franchise, with a castle lying on a small mountain. Here you must give, on your sworn oath of all that you have with you, for three pieces of gold two ordijs, and for your horse as toll four ordijs, which is all given to the king of Navarre. This seems to be extraordinarily harsh, as I have not found such levies in Christian or Mahometan lands. But you should know that as you leave the country you pay nothing, also that for unminted gold you pay nothing.

Item from St. John pede port to Burget [Burguete], 5 leagues. We climbed the mountain Rontzefael [Roncesvalles]. Burget is a small franchise lying on the mountain Rontzefale, but first, close to Burget, we passed through a fine monastery, a great abbey, where the abbot keeps a fine hospital for poor people and pilgrims.<sup>2</sup> We were shown in the monastery a very long horn, said to have been the hunting horn of Roland, the giant.

Item from Burget to Ponte de paradyss [Puente de Paradiso], a village, 4 leagues. We descended the mountain Runtzefal.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that ordijs is a corruption of maravedi, the then new billon piece of Ferdinand and Isabella, which would be just the equivalent required. I cannot explain the loss of the 'm' or the plural form, but 'aravedi' could easily become 'ordei'.

<sup>2</sup> See Ford, *Handbook to Spain*, 3rd ed. 1855, II, p. 961. The convent was dedicated to Our Lady of the Valley, but in Ford's time it was untenanted.

Item from Ponte de Paradijs to Raschona [Larrasoaña], a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Raschona to Pampalonia, 3 leagues.

This is a fine and large town, but not surrounded by strong walls and ditches.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the town, towards the north, is an old palace, in which the king of Navarre often holds his court. At present there is there a young man of twenty years, son of the Lord of Foix, who is subject to the crown of France.<sup>2</sup> King Charles of France forced the son to marry the Queen of Navarre, so that the country should remain French, since the two kings have always been at war, as one can see in Pascayen from the burnt villages and ruined and captured towns and castles.

Item here in Pascayen the women wear high twisted head-dresses as they do in heathen lands. They wear generally skins which are curiously made. Also the girls and maidens all go about openly with short hair uncovered in the streets.



<sup>1</sup> On Pampeluna, see King, I, p. 253 and König v. Vach, *Introd.*, p. 67; Ford, II, p. 952.

<sup>2</sup> After 1234 Navarre passed by marriage to a succession of French rulers. The young prince may have been John (d. 1500) son of Eleanor and Gaston IV de Foix. He married a sister of Louis XII of France, and was on good terms with the French court.

Item in Pascayen they have their own language which is difficult to write, but I have retained some words which are written below.<sup>1</sup>

Pascayan Speech.

Item: ogea [ogi],	bread	gasta,	cheese
arduwa,	wine	gaza [gatz],	salt
oyra [ur],	water	oluwa,	oats
aragi,	meat	huetza,	straw
norda,		who is there?	
schambat [zenbat],		how much is that?	
hytzokosanma [etxe-jaun],		an innkeeper	
gangan dissila [Gabon Jainkoak]		God give you good	
dizula,		morning [evening]	
schatuwa ne tu so gausa		Beautiful maiden come	
moissa,		and sleep with me	

Numbers

bat, one	see,	six
bij, two	sespe,	seven
yron, three	tzortzey,	eight
lae, four	wade atzey,	nine
boss, five	hammer,	ten

Item from Pampalonia to Indulay [Cuendulam], 1 league.

Item from Indulay to La punt de regina [Puente Reina], a little town,<sup>2</sup> 3 leagues.

We climbed and descended a mountain and crossed a bridge. The river is called Harga [Arga].

Item from La punt de regina to La stella [Estella], 3 leagues, a little town spread out. We travelled by many burnt villages and destroyed towns. La Stella in their speech is called Sudat.

Item from Sudat to Orbeola [Urbiola], a village, 2 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> Von Harff's list of Basque words is well known as one of the early sources for knowledge of the language. The words are identifiable and with the help of Professor Entwistle of Oxford I have added a few modern equivalents. Mr. Rodney Gallop in 'The Book of the Basques', 1930, p. 72, gives some of the words, but adds that the phrase 'Beautiful maiden come and sleep with me', which appears with variations in several of the vocabularies, is rendered by a Basque phrase so inaccurately transcribed that it has set all the present-day experts at loggerheads. See article by Jules Vinson in *Revue de Linguistique*, XXI, (1892), pp. 95/6.

<sup>2</sup> On Puente la Reyna, see King, I, p. 294 ff., with a picture of the bridge at p. 286.



Item from Orbeola to Lons Zarkons [Los Arcos], 2 leagues,  
a small town with a hill castle.

Item from Lons Zarkons to Viennes [Viana], 4 leagues,  
a small town on a little mountain.

Item from Viennes to La Grunea [Logroño], 1 league,  
a town belonging to the King of Spain.<sup>1</sup> Here one rides over a  
stone bridge. The river is called Ebro. Here ends the kingdom of  
Navare, and on the other side of the river begins the land of Spain.

Item in this town of La Grunea they search to see what goods  
you have, for you have to pay duty on them, and for your horse  
you pay two reals as duty. They are reckoned nine to a ducat,  
and you must take a letter with you that you have brought such  
a horse, of such appearance and size, with you into the country.  
Otherwise when you want to leave the country again, by what-  
ever exit, they will take your horse as stolen or purchased. For  
this reason one has to pay this heavy duty.

Item from La Grunea to Navaret [Navarrete], a small town  
with a castle, 2 leagues.

Item from Navaret to Nazera [Najera], 2 leagues,  
a small town and a castle lying on a mountain.

Item from Nazera to Dofra, a village, 1 league.

Item from Dofra to St. Dominicus [San Domingo de la Cal-  
zada], 3 leagues,  
a small but beautiful town. In the chief church, on the right  
hand as one enters, lies St. Dominicus in person in a fine large  
and lofty grave, whose body and grave were also shown us in  
Benonia [Bologna] in Lombardy, in the monastery of preaching  
friars. I leave God to decide these disputes among priests, who  
never allow that they are wrong. Item in this same church, on the  
left of the high altar, in a cage, are a wax cock and hen. They told  
us pilgrims that they had come there miraculously.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Logroño, see King, I, p. 370 ff., and on the customs, Kunig von Vach, Introd. p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. A and B have "white" in place of "wax." There is a description of S. Domingo de la Calzada in King, I, p. 411 ff. Cp. Ford, *Handbook*, 3rd ed., II, p. 860. The cock story has many variants. I take it from Andrew Boorde (p. 203). A judge had sentenced an innocent young pilgrim to death, but though he was hanged St. James kept him alive. The youth told the people to go to the judge with the news that he was still alive, although hanging on the gallows. The judge was at supper 'having in his

Item in Spain they administer very strong justice. The evil doer is bound against a lofty pillar sitting on a wooden stick with eyes uncovered, and they mark his heart by a piece of white paper. Then the criminal's nearest relation has to shoot first then the other next of kin, with a cross bow until he is dead. Further they hang women criminals by the neck on a gallows or a tree. The clothes are tied below the knee. We saw many such hanging beside the roads after this manner.<sup>1</sup>



dyshe two greate chyken; the one was a hen chik, and the other a cock chik.' On hearing the story the judge remarked: 'It's as true as that my 2 cookt chickens will crow.' On which the chickens did crow and the young man was taken down from the gallows. Two chickens are still kept above the transept arch in the cathedral (King, 1, p. 139). Pilgrims used to feed the birds, thinking that if they took the food, the pilgrimage would turn out well. King, 1, p. 430.

<sup>1</sup> Rozmital (p. 72) saw justice executed in this way. See also Lalain, *Voyage de Philippe le Heau* (1502), Gachard, *Coll. des Voyages*, 1, p. 189. If the criminal knew that one of his friends was a good marksman he prayed the judge to let him shoot first, so that he might die the quicker.

Item from St. Dominicus to Graneoin [Grañon], a franchise,  
1 league.

Item from Graneoin to Restilla de la Kamine [Redecilla del Campo],  
1 league,  
a franchise.

Item from Restilla to Medie de ponte, a village, 1 league.

Item from Medie de ponte to Villa Franka [Villafranca],  
5 leagues,

a little town beside another little town called Bilorato [Belorato].

Item from Villa Franka to Burgis [Burgos], 8 leagues.  
Above Villa Franck on the mountain two ways divide. That on the left is the best and the nearest, but the pilgrims travel the other road, for charity, to a monastery called St. John de Orteck, where there is a hospital.

Item Burgis is a very fine town in Spain subject to the King of Castille.<sup>1</sup> In the town is a very fine cathedral, having its own bishop, and above the town the king has a fine castle on a hill: a small river runs beside the town called Moneta.

Item from Burgis southwest, about half a mile across the river Moneta, there is a fine Carthusian monastery on a little mountain called ad millas flores.<sup>2</sup> In it lie buried all the kings and queens of Castille.

Item from Burgis to Tardasius [Tardajos], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Tardasius to Rowe [Rabe de la Calzada], 1 league,  
a village with a fine hill castle.

Item from Rowe to Hornilus [Hormillos del Camino], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Hornilus to Ala Fontana [Hontanos], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Ala Fontana to Castresory [Castrogeriz], 2 leagues,  
a very long franchise with a lofty hill castle. The pilgrims call it the long town.

Item from Castresory to Ponte Fitter [Ponte Itero], 2 leagues,  
a franchise. A river runs by it. One rides over a stone bridge.

<sup>1</sup> See King, II, p. 29 ff. Ford, *Handbook*, II, p. 843.

<sup>2</sup> Cartuja de Miraflores, a Carthusian monastery containing the tomb of the Cid, founded by John II of Castile, 1406-1454. See Ford, *Handbook*, II, p. 853. There is a description in Lalsing, *Voyage de Philippe le Beau* (1502). Gachard, I, p. 153.

Item from Ponte Fitter to Bobadilla [Boadilla del Camino], a franchise, 2 leagues.

Item from Bobadilla to Fromeste [Fromista], 1 league, a small town. The towns throughout Spain are surrounded with plaster walls: the inns are bad. Whatever you want to eat and drink you have to buy on the roads. In addition for chairs, stools, dishcloths, which are put before you, and bed linen you have to pay extra. *Summa summarum*, Spain is an evil country. I found that in Turkey Christianity was not more mocked than in Spain.

Item from Fromeste to Polacioin, a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Polacioin to Revenga, a large village, 1 league.

Item from Ravenga to Villa Schirga, 1 league.

Item from Villa Schirga to Hokarioin [Carrion de los Candes], a town, 2 leagues.

Item from Hokarioin to Kaltzarila [Calzadilla], a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Kaltzarila to Moratinus [Moratillos], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Moratinus to Sagon [Sahagun], 2 leagues, a small town.<sup>1</sup> A river runs beside it. It was given as a widow's portion to Lady Margaret of Burgundy.

Item from Sagon to Bresianus [Brescianos], a franchise, 2 leagues.

Item from Bresianus to Borgo Rivero [El Burgo], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Borgo Rivero to Religus [Rehegos], a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Religus to Mansilia [Mançilla de las Mulas], 3 leagues, a town lying in Spain. Here one rides over a stone bridge. The river is called Isla.

Item from Mansilia to Lioin [Leon], 3 leagues. This is one of the four chief towns in Spain, but it is not walled. Inside is a fine cathedral dedicated to our blessed Lady de Regula, a bishopric.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On *Sahagun*, see King, II, p. 118 ff. On the road from Burgos, Ford, *Handbook*, II, p. 555.

<sup>2</sup> S. Maria la Regla. King, II, p. 238 ff. Ford, *Handbook*, II, p. 548.

Item from Lioin to St. Michael [S. Miguel del Camino], a small village, 2 leagues.

Item from St. Michael to Villa Dangus [Villadangos], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Villa Dangus to Ponte de Orfigo [Puente de Orbigo], 2 leagues, a village. It lies on both sides of the river Orfigo [Orbigo] across a stone bridge.

Item from Ponte de Orfigo to Storgis [Astorga], 3 leagues, a walled town, Spanish. Towards the south, at the end of the town, is a castle surrounded with fine towers.

Item from Storgis to Hospitale, a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Hospitale to Hospitale Grande [Espital del Ganso -S. Catalina], 1 league.

Item from Hospitale Grande to Ravaneel ala Kamine [Rabanal], 2 leagues, a village. Here Spain ends and the land of Galicia begins, also subject to the Kingdom of Castille. In this village one climbs the mountain Ravaneel.

Item in this district of Galicia, or Spain, the women wear generally silver or gold rings in their ears.

Item from Ravaneel to Villa Nova [Villanueva], 4 leagues, a village lying on the mountain of Ravaneel.

Item from Villa Nova to Reodambro, a village, 1 league.

Item from Reodambro to Molina Zeka [Molina seca], 1 league. We descended the mountain Ravaneel, the village lying below it.

Item from Molina Zeka to Munferar [Ponferrada], 1 league, a small village with a strong hill-castle: there are many vines.

Item from Munferar to Campo Denarea [Enarea], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Campo Denarea to Karkabelle [Cacavellos], 1 league, a large village. Here commences the country of the Count of Bonuvent [Benavente].

Item from Karkabella to Villa Francka [Villafranca del Bierzo], 2 leagues, a small town lying in a valley full of vineyards, belonging to the Count of Bonuvent.

Item from villa Francka to Weychga [Valcaçar], 4 leagues,  
a small village with a hill castle belonging to the Count of Bonu-  
vent. We climbed the high mountain of Male Faba.<sup>1</sup>

Item from Weychga to Ala Faba [La Faba], a village on the  
slopes of the mountain, 2 leagues.

Item from Ala Faba to Marie de Sebreo [Sta. Maria Cabrero],  
1 league,  
a small village on the mountain Malefaber.

Item from Marie de Sebreo to Hospitale de Gundis [Hospital  
de Padornelo], 1 league.

Item from Hospitale de Gundis to Monfrea [Fonfria], a  
village, 1 league.

Item from Montrea to Bordoos, 1 league,  
a small village lying entirely in the mountain Malefaber.

Item from Bordoos to Trecastelle [Triacastela], 2 leagues.  
We descended the mountain Malefaber to this village.

Item from Trecastelle to St. Michele de la Costa, a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from de la Costa to Agiata, a small village, 1 league.

Item from Agiata to Zarea [Sarria], 1 league,  
a franchise with a hill castle.

Item from Zarea to Ponte Marine [Puerto Marín], 4 leagues,  
a small town lying on a large river called Mino. A stone bridge  
crosses it. It lies in Galicia. All subject to the King of Castille.

Item from Ponte marine to Ligundi [Ligonde], a small vil-  
lage, 3 leagues.

Item from Ligundi to St. James de la Stego, a small village,  
1 league.

Item from St. James de la Stego to Palacium Regis [Palaz del  
Rey], a small village, 1 league.

Item from Palacium Regis to St. John a la Kamine, a small  
village, 1 league.

Item from St. John to Forioele [Furelos], 2 leagues,  
a village across a stone bridge.

Item from Forioele to Villa Rumpeta, a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Villa Rumpeta to Boenta [Angeles de Boente], a  
village, 2 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly La Faba turned in jest into Mala Faba. Robert Langton, p. 8.

- Item from Boente to Castineer [Castanola], a small village, 1 league.  
 Item from Castineer to Rividis [Rivadis], a small village, 1 league.  
 Item from Rividis to Vrsowe [Arzea], a village, 1 league.  
 Item from Vrsowe to Villafereire [Ferreiros], a village, 1 league.  
 Item from Villafereire to a la Trykasa, a village, 2 leagues.  
 Item from a la Trykasa to Compostella, 3 leagues.



Item Compostella is a small beautiful and pleasant town in Galicia, subject to the king of Castille.<sup>1</sup> It contains a fine and

<sup>1</sup> The disappointing thing about pilgrims to Compostella is that, after their long and difficult journey, they tell us so little about the place. Roznital is an exception, but he was there during a feud between the Archbishop and a Galician lord. The Archbishop was a prisoner and his mother and brothers, one of whom was a cardinal, were locked up in the cathedral which was closely besieged. When the travellers at last gained admission the church was

large church. On the high altar is a great wooden shrine made in honour of St. James. On it is a silver crown, and the pilgrims ascend behind the altar and place the crown on their heads, wherefore the inhabitants make fun of us Germans.

Item it is claimed that the body of St. James, the Greater Apostle, rests or lies in the high altar, others say in truth no, that he lies in Tolosa in Languedoc, as I have written above. I desired, with great presents, that they should show me the holy body. They replied that anyone who did not believe truly that the holy body of St. James, the Greater Apostle, lay in the high altar, but doubted and therefore desired to see the body, he would immediately become mad like a mad dog.<sup>1</sup> From this I had learnt all I wanted to know, and we went at once to the sacristy, where they showed us the head of St. James, the Lesser Apostle, and many other relics. In front of the church you see countless great and small shells, which you can buy and bind on your cloak and say that you have been there.<sup>2</sup>

Item to the southwest, close by the town, in a church lies the holy virgin St. Susanna in person.<sup>3</sup>

like a barrack, and horses and cows were stabled there, and it was only with difficulty that the pilgrims could perform their devotion. Cf. *Gentleman Errant*, p. 86; Rozmatal, pp. 83, 128. See Künze v. Aach (Introcl., p. 73) for a brief description of church and relics. Lalang, *Le Voyage de Philippe le Beau*, 1502, Gachard, I, p. 1481. Weizsäcker (1472) gives an account of the relics and of the cathedral establishment, but he went by sea and has nothing to say about Compostella itself. *Itineraries*, Roxburghe Club, p. 153 ff. There is a good account of Compostella in Eoel, *Handbook*, 3rd ed., II, 601. Miss King, *The Way of St. James*, III, p. 175, prints some thirteenth century instructions given to vergers, with phrases for the benefit of foreign pilgrims, but there are no phrases for Germans.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 262. Cf. Andrew Boodle, p. 204: 'I assure you that there is not one heere nor one bone of Saint James in Spayne in Compostell, but only, as they say, his state, and the chayne the whiche he was bounde wyth all in prison, and the Achel or hookes, the whiche doth lye upon the myddell of the hyghe alter, the whych they sayd they saw and cutte of the head of Saint James the more.'

<sup>2</sup> Scallop shells were the special token of St. James. In Erasmus' Colloquy 'The Pilgrimage', Ogygius claims to have received his shell from the saint himself. *Pilgrimage to St. Mary of Walsingham*, ed. by J. G. Nichols, 1840, p. 1. In early days the pilgrims picked them up on the sea-shore, but later considerable profit was made by selling them.

<sup>3</sup> St. Susanna. Cf. King, III, p. 303; Lalang, *Le Voyage de Phillipe le Beau*, Gachard, I, p. 160.



Item from Compostella we continued to Vinsterstern<sup>1</sup> [Finisterre], eight leagues, a little church lying westwards on the sea coast, and returned again to Compostella. Item from Compostella we returned by the way we had come to Burgos, through Lioin [Leon], where we suffered much from the arrogance of the Spaniards. They slew two of our pilgrims and seized my servant and others with blows and assaults, so that, with God's help, I and the others fled away on foot, and ran by day and night to Burgos.<sup>2</sup> Here we had left our horses and had purchased asses and mules to carry us to St. James, since we could have found no provender for horses in that land. We had to take a pack-ass with us to carry spoons, dishes, kettles and pans, with which to cook, since nothing is to be found in the houses. For this reason this pilgrimage belongs to beggars, who in our country have stolen or committed murder, or ruined or betrayed their masters.

Item at Burgos, which I have described before, we mounted our horses again and rode to Paris. Before the town stands a monastery called ad sanctam Mariam Gaminael. Here two ways part, one on the right, by which we had come from Venice, the other on the left to Paris, which we took northeast.

Item from Burgos to Villa Ferris [Villa fria], a village,

2 leagues.

Item from Villa Ferris to Robena [Rubena], a village, 1 league.

Item from Robena to Quinta Napalea [Quintananalla], a village,

1 league.

<sup>1</sup> Most pilgrims went on to Finisterre, but there was nothing to see but sky and water (Rozmital, p. 177). Sebastian Ilsung (1446) found there the footmarks of St. James and a well which he made with his own hands, also a sort of chair in which St. Peter, St. James, and St. John had sat. King, III, p. 209. The journey was along the worst road Ilsung could remember.

<sup>2</sup> Pilgrims were protected by special laws and enactments which go back to Frankish times. See article by Eugen Wohlhaupter 'Wallfahrt und Recht' in *Wallfahrt und Volkstum*, ed. by Georg Schreiber, Düsseldorf, 1934, p. 225 ff., but it was one thing to prohibit and another to prevent deeds of violence, which were only too common. Rozmital (1465-1467) and his companions could not take the high road from Burgos to Leon, but took by-ways where they had to ride quickly 'for the heathen were about'. The people were arrogant and spiteful and wholly reckless of life, whether their own or another's. The travellers could obtain neither food nor lodging, and had to abide in the open fields under the sky. Gipsies were better entertained than they. Cust, *Gentleman Errant*, p. 70; Rozmital, p. 170.

Item from Quinta Napalea to Monasterium Rodila [Monasterio de Rodilla], a village, 1 league.

Item from Rodila to Quinta in Bedis [Quintanavides], a village, 1 league.

Item from Quinta in Bedis to Barbiseo [Briviesca], a small town, 2 leagues.

Item from Barbiseo to Salinich [Grisaleño], a franchise, 2 leagues.

Item from Salinich to Suneta [Zuñeda], a village, 1 league.

Item from Suneta to Pancorbo, 2 leagues.

This is a small town lying between very high and stony mountains. Above lies a castle, which is the entrance to the whole land of Spain.

Item here you have to show the pass which you received at Lagrunca, on the other road, that you had brought your horse with you into the country. If you had purchased another in the country you must pay the tenth penny as duty, on your sworn oath. For they allow no good horses to leave the country without consent of the King.

Item from Pancorbo to Amigugo [Majunilo], a little town, 1 league.

Item from Amigugo to Oron [Oría], a village, 1 league.

Item from Oron to Meranda [Miranda de Ebro], 2 leagues, a Castilian town. A swift river runs by it called Ebro, with a stone bridge crossing it and a fine hill castle above the town. Here you are again interrogated whether you have bought your horse in the country. Show your pass, otherwise you must pay duty.

Item from Meranda to Popula de Arganson [La Puebla de Argansos], a small town, 2 leagues.

Item from Popula to Victoria [Vitoria], a fine town, 3 leagues.

Item you have to change your Spanish money for other money which is current in France.

Item from Victorien to Tredies, a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Tredies to Galardia, 2 leagues, a village. Here commences the Portzenberch.

Item from Galardia to Trianport, 1 league.

We ascended the Portzenberch, which is a small pass or gate

high up on the mountain cut through a rock, in which people live who guard it.<sup>1</sup> Here Spain and Spanish speech end, and the land and speech of Pascayen [Biscay] commence. There is different clothing for man and woman, and the leagues or miles are much longer than I have described up to now.

Item from Trianport to Secura [Segura], 2 leagues.  
We descended the Portzenberch. This is a small town on a small mountain.

Item from Secura to Villa Franca de Provincia, a small town, 1 league.

Item from Villa franca to Leygreyge [Legoretta], a franchise, 2 leagues.

Item from Leygreyge to Toloseta [Tolosa], a small town, 1 league.

Item from Toloseta to Billaфона [Villa Bona], a franchise, 1 league.

Item from Billaфона to Litzauwe, a village, 1 league.

Item from Litzauwe to Ernane [Hernani], a small town, 1 league.

Item from Ernane to Maria Eruna de Danso [Irun], a franchise, 2 leagues.

Item from Maria Eruna to Fonta Rani [Fuenterrabia], a village, 1 league.

About half way you cross a river called Beofia [Bidasoa]. It divides the kingdom of Spain from the kingdom of France.

Item from Fonta Rani to St. John de Lunis [St. Jean-de-Luz], 1 league,

<sup>1</sup> Puerte de Arlaban (1740 ft.) called Puerte de San Adrian by the pilgrims. See Robt. Langton, p. 5, and an itinerary printed by Miss King, III, p. 602, 'Mont saint Adrien, bien haut. Passe par le trou saint Adrien.' Lalain, *Voyage de Philippe le Beau*, Gachard, I, p. 149, describes it as 'mauvaise et dangereuse au passer, tousjours chargé de néges'. Cp. Peter Rindfleisch (Röhrich-Meisner, p. 346): 'Item von dar sind auff S. Adrians Berg, der also hoch ist, das niemandt hat konnen darüeber kommen vor der grossen hohe, hat lassen Kayser Julius in der hohe durchhauen.' A seventeenth century traveller describes the mountain as placed in the midst of the way to block up the passage, and thus separate Biscay from Old Castile. 'A tedious and painful labour has pierced this mass of stone in manner of a vault; you may walk forty or fifty paces under it without sight of day but what comes by the overtures of each entry, which are shut by great doors.' D'Aulnoy, *Travels into Spain*, p. 30.

a village lying close to the sea. Here one must cross an arm of the sea.

Item from St. John de Luni to Biona [Bayonne], 3 leagues. This is a fine but small French town, lying not far from the sea. Here there are two great and swift rivers, the one through the town is called Lugana, and the other around the town is called Luni.<sup>1</sup> This is crossed by a fine, long and strong wooden bridge, as fine as any I have seen in my pilgrimage. It has a balustrade on both sides and is in length eight hundred of my paces. In this town is a small and beautiful cathedral to our blessed Lady, a bishopric.

Item in front of the long bridge is a church to St. Leo, where he lies in person. Here commences the Bordeaux heath which is thirty-one leagues long.<sup>2</sup>

Item from Biona [Bayonne] to Ternoiss [Ternos], a small village on the heath, 2 leagues.

Item from Ternoiss to Undri. [Ondres], two houses across the heath, 1 league.

Item from Undri. to Layena [Labenne], inns on the heath, 1 league.

Item from Layena to St. Bezans [Saubusse], a small village, 2 leagues, all across the Bordeaux heath as far as Bordeaux, and these villages and inns are all on the heath.

Item from St. Bezans to Magista [Magescq], a small village, 3 leagues.

Item from Magista to Castet [Castets], a small village, 2 leagues.

Item from Castet to Besperon [Lesperon], a small village, 2 leagues.

Item from Besperon to Haria [Laharie], a small village, 2 leagues.

Item from Haria to Janckelet [Lanquillet], an inn, 2 leagues.

Item from Janckelet to Heriva Faber [La Bohere], 2 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> The rivers are the Adour and the Nive.

<sup>2</sup> The Landes were not the forests we know to-day, but a vast sandy plain — 'als ein white hayden', as Ernstinger has it (p. 189). The pine trees were planted by Brémontier, 1738–1809.

Item from Herba Faba to Liposeele [Liposthey], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Liposeele to Moret [Le Muret], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Moret to Belin [Belin-Hostens], a village. There is an ancient small castle high up on a mountain.  
2 leagues.

Item from Belin to Laebarp [Le Barp], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Laebarp to Bardeos [Bordeaux], 6 leagues.  
This is a very fine, large and pleasant French town. A great river runs through it called Corona [Garonne]. Here Pascayen ends. Across the river Jasconien [Gascony] commences, called the County of Pottoin [Poitou], contiguous to Pertanien [Brittany].

Item in this town is a very fine small cathedral called St. Andree,<sup>1</sup> which has three fine towers, the points of which are also of stone. It is a bishopric. Behind the choir altar lies Petrus Brulant in a rich sculptured tomb, whom they regard as holy and would be glad to have canonized.

Item outside the town westwards, at St. Surin,<sup>2</sup> in the church, lies St. Severinus: half of him is in a beautiful shrine. They say the other half is at Cologne. There lie also here St. Amandus and St. Benedicta, who was a queen of this country, and many other holy bodies.

Item the women of these parts wear generally woollen cloaks with a hood over their heads.

Item from Bordeos to Bley [Blaye], a small strong town,  
5 leagues.

We travelled down the river Corona [Garonne] westwards with the tide of the sea.

Item from Bley to Stologies [Etauliers], a village,  
3 leagues.

Item from Stologies to Merambia [Mirambeau], a large village,  
4 leagues.

Item from Merambia to Plasack [Plassac], a small village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Plasack to St. Genis, a village,  
1 league.

<sup>1</sup> On the cathedral, see Ernstinger, p. 191. Brulant is Pierre Berland (d. 1458) who has a tower named after him. He was the son of a labourer and rose to be bishop of Bordeaux. His tomb can still be seen in the cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Ernstinger, p. 191.

Item from St. Genis to Poluir [Belluire], a small village,

2 leagues.

Item from Poluir to Pons, a town,

1 league.

Item from Pontz to Lazart [St. Léger], a town,

2 leagues.

Item from Lazart to Sentis [Saintes],

2 leagues,

a fine but small French town lying on the little river Garon.<sup>1</sup>

Here they are building a very fine cathedral, a bishopric, called St. Peter's. In it lies in person St. Leodegarius, whose eyes were bored out.

Item in the suburb is a church with a fine and rich tower called St. Eutropius,<sup>2</sup> in which he lies in person above the high altar, between two holy bodies, St. Leuncius and St. Eustella, and on the same high altar they show St. Eutropius' right arm.

Item here at Sentis two roads divide, one on the right hand to Paris, the other on the left to St. Michael, which we took.

Item from Sentis to Taleburck [Taillebourg], a little town,

2 leagues.

We travelled over a long marsh across many small stone bridges. The river is called Scheranta [Charente]. One has to pay toll at the bridges.

Item from Taleburck to Sauinan [St. Savinien], a large village lying on the river Scharanta,

1 league.

Item from Sauinan to Tonepottoin [Tonnay-Boutonne], a franchise,

2 leagues.

We crossed a very long marsh and a river called Pottoin [Boutonne].

Item from Tonepottoin to Getziross [Gué-Charroux], inns,

1 league.

Here one has to travel over a marshy river.

Item from Getziross to Krosepio [Croix Chapeau], a village,

3 leagues.

Item from Krosepio to La Roschella [La Rochelle], a fine and strong French town. There is a good sea harbour. They were building a fine new cathedral at that time.

<sup>1</sup> The cathedral was wrecked by the Huguenots in 1568, but parts have survived from the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> St. Eutropius was the first bishop of Saintes. Von Harff does not mention the Roman arch nor the amphitheatre. Cp. Ernstinger, p. 193.

Item from Roschella to Villa Duess [Ville doux], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Villa Duess to Ambrot [Le Brand], a village,  
1 league.

Item from Ambrot to St. Seema [Sainte-Gemme], 3 leagues.  
One crosses two rivers, Lebros and Morilles.

Item from St. Schema to Mottir [Les Moutiers], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Mottir to Bornua [Bourgronneau], a large village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Bornua to La Greva [La Grève], 2 leagues,  
a small village. Inside is a castle belonging to a lord attached to  
the King of France, Johan de Schatule.

Item from La Greva to Conposschengere [La Capechaguière],  
a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Conpossengere to Larproseman [Apremont], a  
village, 2 leagues.

Item from Larproseman to Villa Vivian [Viellevigne], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from villa vivian to Monte Tubart [Montbert], a village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Monte Tubart to Nantis [Nantes], 3 leagues.  
This is a small but fine and strong town, fortified with walls and  
towers, and northwards is a very strong castle,<sup>1</sup> and towards the  
west it is defended with very strong walls, bulwarks, with  
escarpments, and a strong secret gate such as I have never seen.  
Here King Charles of France lay in the field and attacked and  
bombarded it for seven weeks, but he did little to it. Then he  
entered through stealth.<sup>2</sup>

Item this town of Nantis lies between two swift rivers, the  
one called Lier [Loire]. Where we entered it divided itself into

<sup>1</sup> De Beatis (1517-1518) notes the strength of the castle (p. 140), which  
was rebuilt on its present plan in 1446 by Duke Francis II and remodelled in  
the eighteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> After the death of Francis II of Brittany in 1488, Charles VIII of France  
invaded Brittany and forced Francis' daughter, Anne of Brittany, to marry  
him in 1491. When the royal forces advanced on Nantes, the castle was  
betrayed by one of the nobles, and the great fortress, which had defied the  
armed might of France, passed without a blow into the king's hands (Febv.  
1491). Bridge, *History of France from the death of Louis XI*, I, p. 214.

six arms, over each of which is a wooden bridge. In between there is also a stone bridge which crosses an evil marsh, four hundred and fifty paces long. There are seven bridges with water channels before one comes into the town of Nantis, and on each channel is a fine suburb. The other river is called Ardon [Erdre], which runs on the land side round the town.

Item the land of Portoin ends at this large river Lier [Loire], and the country of Portain commences, which we call Brittany, an independent dukedom, which is now wholly French.

Item inside the town close to the castle they are building a fine cathedral to St. Peter—a bishopric.<sup>1</sup> In this church lie many holy bodies, the names of which were unknown to us.

Item here at Nantis they make good knife blades.

Item in this town and in the whole of Brittany the women wear usually two long horns on their head bound round with cloth, over each ear one, in this manner.



Item the people of Portoin or Brittany have their own language, some words of which I have remembered as they are written here.

<sup>1</sup> The cathedral, begun in 1434, but not completed until the nineteenth century.



Portoin speech<sup>1</sup>

bara,	bread	narinck,	no
gwin,	wine	noetz,	a man
doir,	water	honoreck,	a woman
kick,	meat	doie,	God
follideck,	cheese	deabole,	the devil
ony,	eggs	ammestres,	an innkeeper
qwinagere,	vinegar	annestisses,	a hostess
oinge,	a hen	dribit,	eat
pisket,	a fish	hisit,	drink
haelen,	salt	gorwet,	sleep
mat,	good	golo,	a candle
drock,	wicked	fenun,	hay
me,	I	kolun,	straw
ja,	yes		

## Numbers

vin,	one	gwech,	six
duwe,	two	see,	seven
try,	three	eiff,	eight
peier,	four	nae,	nine
pempe,	five	deck,	ten
caut,	a hundred	mile,	thousand

madan meker,	give me oats
dematio,	good morning
nosmat,	good evening
madin nent la Renis,	which is the way to Renis?
pe gauo eo,	what is this called?
me vel tin paia,	I will buy that
gwalget mar roschet,	wash this shirt for me

- Item from Nantis to Hegerick [Héric], a village, 3 leagues.  
 Item from Hegerick to Natzay [Nozay], a franchise, 4 leagues.  
 Item from Natzay to Moye [Mouais], a small village, 3 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> This vocabulary is apparently in the Vannes dialect of Breton. The words, or most of them, can be identified. See R. Thurneysen in *Revue Celtique*, xxxii, (1911), pp. 1-4.

Item from Moye to Bayn [Bain de Bretagne], a large village,  
3 leagues.

Item from Bayn to Poline [Poligney], a village, 1 league.

Item from Poline to St. Pompe [Pont Tréant], a village,  
3 leagues.

Item from St. Pompe to Renis [Rennes], 2 leagues,  
which is a fine town lying in Brittany, subject to the French crown.<sup>1</sup> Through the town runs a small river called Villanga [Vilaine]. In the town is a fine cathedral to St. Peter—a bishopric. Item, eastwards at the end of the town by the gate, is a fine nunnery for noble virgins, called St. George. In the sacristy they show St. George's entire leg and many other relics. This town of Renis has many suburbs.

Item from Renis to St. Gregorius [St. Grégoire-Thorigné], a village, 1 league.

Item from St. Gregorius to Obini [St. Aubin d'Aubigné], a large village, 4 leagues.

Item from Obini to Basoies [Bazouges], a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Basoies to Portesoin [Pontorson], 3 leagues.  
We travelled through a forest half a mile long. This is a small town. Beside it runs a river called Sqwanum [Couesnon], and here ends the dukedom of Portoin, called Brittany, and the dukedom of Normandy begins, which is subject to the crown of France.

Item from Portesoin to Monte St. Michaele, 2 leagues.

Item Mt. St. Michaele is a small but strong town built on a round rock. It lies in the middle of the sea when the tide is in flood, and high up on the rock is a strong French castle, which could be well defended. Inside is a monastery in honour of St. Michaele. The masters are Benedictines.

Inside the church on the right hand, in a chapel, they show a sword one-and-a-half spans long, which has the appearance of copper, with which the angel St. Michaele is said to have overcome the devil. They show also in the same chapel the head of St. Innocent and the head of St. Eupertus, a bishop, who first undertook the building of the monastery on the rock, I was told that the angel St. Michaele appeared to the bishop Eupertus in his sleep and said: 'Go to the rock which lies in the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> The cathedral is modern, replacing the earlier building which collapsed.



sea, and build a church on the top of the rock in honour of St. Michael.' The holy bishop Eupertus then awoke and said: 'It is a very precipitous rock. How can I build a church there?'. The angel replied: 'Go to the nearest village, where lives an old man who has four children. Take the youngest with you. He will remove the stone for you.' It fell out as was said, and the stone fell westwards in the sand, and on it they built a little chapel in honour of St. Eutropus, in remembrance of his event.<sup>1</sup> When we had inspected everything we travelled to Paris.

Item from Mt. St. Michael to Cortisch [Courtils], a village,  
2 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> On this apparition see *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. viii, 6. It is said to have occurred in 710 or 707. Cp. De Beatis, p. 137, who gives a slightly different version.

We crossed over the clear sand of the sea, as the tide was out.

Item from Cortisch to Duce [Ducey], a large village, 2 leagues.  
We crossed a river by a wooden bridge.

Item from Duce to Pentavena, a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Pentavena to Pede de Argent, taverns, 2 leagues.

Item from Pede de Argent to Mile [Milly], a village, 1 league.

Item from Mile to St. Johan [St. Jean du Corail], a small village, 3 leagues.

Item from St. Johan to Baranton [Barenton], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Baranton to Labey de Louley [Lonlay l'abbaye], 2 leagues,

a large village; we travelled through a thicket.

Item from Labey de Louley to St. Bomet [St. Bomer les Farges], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Bomet to Tzeris [Saires], a small village, 2 leagues.

Item from Tzeris to Bellowe [Bellou en Oulme], a large village, 1 league.

Item from Bellowe to Briosa [Briouze], a village, 1 league.

Item from Briosa to Fromentelle [Fromentel], taverns, 2 leagues.

Item from Fromentelle to Kartzey [Ecouché], a fine large village, 2 leagues.

Item from Kartzey to Argenten [Argentan], 2 leagues,  
a fine little town with a castle, in Normandy, which is a beautiful flat and fruitful country, subject to the French crown.

Item from Argenten to Jhemis [Exmes], 3 leagues.

We travelled through a forest. This is a franchise on a mountain.

Item from Jhemis to Schaffayo [Echœuffaur], a village, 4 leagues.

Item from Schaffaio to Notterdam de Regi [Rai], a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Notterdam de Regy to Legle [Laigle], a fine franchise, 1 league.

Item from Legle to Tuba [Tubœuf], a village, 1 league.

Item from Tuba to Villa la Paris, a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Villa la Paris to Vernuwele [Verneuil], a town, 2 leagues.

Item from Vernuwele to St. Lubin [St. Lubin des Joncherets],  
a village, 3 leagues.

Item from St. Lubin to Dreues [Dreux], 4 leagues,  
a town with a fine hill castle. Here ends the dukedom of Nor-  
mandy and the true France begins.

Item from Dreues to Sclesin, a village, 1 league.

Item from Sclesin to Hodans [Houdan], 3 leagues.

Item from Hodans to Neapholis [Neauphle], a village,  
4 leagues.

We travelled through a thicket.

Item from Neapholis to Villa Prues [Villepreux], 2 leagues,  
a large village. We travelled through a thicket.

Item from Villa Prues to Pons St. Klaewe [St. Cloud],  
4 leagues,  
a large village lying on a river that comes from Paris, across a  
stone bridge.

Item from Pontz St. Klaewe to Paris, 2 leagues.  
Paris is a fine large and round city, built throughout, where the  
King of France holds his parliament. The town is not strong or  
surrounded with ditches, towers and walls, for in many places, as  
I was standing on the ground, I could put my hand on the walls.  
In this town of Paris there are three hundred and fifty numbered  
alleys and streets, large and small, of which some are well built  
on both sides of bridges over the water.

Item in this town of Paris there are one hundred and fifteen  
numbered churches and chapels great and small, of which the  
cathedral or minster is called after our blessed Lady. It is very  
beautiful and finely built, lying between two streams.

Item in about the centre of the town is the King's palace,  
built very beautifully and splendidly.<sup>1</sup> In it is a fine hall in  
which the parliament and law-givers sit daily. From this hall  
one goes through a passage, which is full of jewellers and shop-  
keepers, who have all kinds of precious things. Then one comes  
further into a small but beautiful and splendid chapel, called the  
Holy Chapel, into which with the help of the highborn lord

<sup>1</sup> Cp. De Beatis, p. 132. There is a description of Paris in 1517: *Description de la ville de Paris à l'époque de François I<sup>er</sup>*, ed. by Beltrami, 1889, but I have not seen it.

Englebert Duke of Cleve, Count of Nevers etc., I was taken. King Louis<sup>1</sup> was then within, hearing Mass with all his lords, and after Mass they showed him the following relics.<sup>2</sup> Item a cloth and some milk of our blessed Lady. Item a cloth in which our Lord Jesus in his childhood was swaddled. Item a towel with which our Lord Jesus girded himself, and with which he dried his disciples' feet. Item an iron chain with which our Lord Jesus was bound and led, and kept in prison. Item a piece of the Holy Cross. Item a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, which was pressed down on his blessed head. Item a piece of the purple garment in which our Lord Jesus was mocked, and the rod which was placed in his hand as a sceptre, also in mockery. Item the sponge from which our Lord Jesus drank on the Holy Cross. Item a large piece of the spear which was thrust in our Lord Jesus' right side. Item a board which was placed under his head when he was taken down from the Cross. Item a piece of the cloth on which our Lord Jesus sweated water and blood. Item a piece of St. John Baptist's head. Item a piece of Moses' rod, and other notable relics which are all kept in a splendid casket above the high altar. Item, when this was ended, King Louis of France dubbed me a knight before the altar, which I desired, as all other Christian and heathen kings had also knighted me.

Item since this city of Paris is near to the German nation, and the speech and manners are known to all, I will pass them by for the sake of brevity. It was my intention to travel from here to Kalis [Calais], through England into Hibernia, to visit the Purgatory of St. Pancracius [Patrick], and then to visit the Holy Blood, and to return to Cologne, but I altered my plan, although it is still in my mind, as I gave your princely graces to understand at the beginning. I travelled with your princely graces' ambassadors from Paris to Cologne.

Item first from Paris to St. Dyonijs [St. Denis], 2 leagues,

<sup>1</sup> Louis XII (1498-1515).

<sup>2</sup> There are inventories of the relics (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) in 'Le Trésor de la Sainte Chapelle' by L. Vidier, *Mémoires de la Soc. de l'histoire de Paris*, 34 (1907), p. 200 ff. For later inventories see 35 (1908), 293 (1740); and p. 324 (1791), in which most of the relics mentioned by von Harff can be identified. See also de Beatis, p. 133.

a large franchise in which is a fine church, a Benedictine abbey.

[*MS. A gives the following addition although struck through in red ink.*]

Inside lie buried all the Kings and Queens of France in splendid sculptured stone graves. Beside the high altar, on the right hand, they show an iron nail with which our Lord Jesus was nailed to the cross.

Item at the head of the choir is an altar, and above it, set in the lantern, is a long pointed horn which is said to have stood on the head of a unicorn. It was four of my spans long, and it is shown standing on the altar. It is twisted and pointed like a wax candle.

Item above the entrance, in the lantern, is a very splendid crucifix in a wooden case.

Item in the aisles and before the choir are many fine chapels, in which rest many holy bodies.

[*Instead of this manuscript C contains the following description of the Church of St. Denis.*]

In this church lie buried all the kings and queens of France in fine sculptured stone graves.<sup>1</sup>

Item in the main choir, where the lords sing daily, lies buried Charles the Bald. Above the choir are three high altars, above each other, eastwards. Item above the first high altar lies St. Dionysus de Europa in a fine coffin. Close by, on the right hand, is a fine twisted unicorn's horn ten spans long, which is shown standing on the altar.<sup>2</sup> Item above the second altar lies St. Louis, a king, in a fine and rare coffin. Opposite the altar is a beautiful richly gilt crucifix, in which is a large piece of the holy cross. Item on the left hand of this second altar there rests, splendidly interred, King Charles of France,<sup>3</sup> who died in this year ninety-eight on the eve of Palm Sunday. Item behind this second altar is a crypt under an altar. Here one shows a crucifix

<sup>1</sup> On St. Denis, see de Beatis, p. 134. There is an inventory dated 1505 in 'Inventaire du trésor . . . dans l'église de l'abbaye de St. Denys', by M. H. Omont in *Mem. de la Soc. de l'histoire de Paris*, 28 (1901), p. 163 ff., in which most of the relics can be identified.

<sup>2</sup> The unicorn's horn is mentioned in Inv. No. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Charles VIII, 1483-1498.

which is said to have spoken to a leper.<sup>1</sup> 'Go hence and say to the people, as surely as I have taken this leprosy from you, so surely is this church dedicated, for no one has dedicated this church but God alone.' Item above the third high altar lies St. Dionysus in a beautiful and rare coffin, between St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherius, also kept in splendid coffins. Item on the right hand of the third high altar they show, each Friday, one of the three nails which were thrust through the hands and feet of our Lord Jesus. It is as thick as a finger, square, and a span long. They show also a thorn from the crown of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> They show also St. Simeon's right arm,<sup>3</sup> in which our blessed Lady offered her son Jesus in the temple at Bethlehem. There is shown also the leprosy<sup>4</sup> which God in Heaven removed from the outcast man, of which I have written before, all set in rare jewels.

Item on the left hand of the third high altar is shown the head of St. Dionysus, very splendidly encased.

Item above the third high altar, standing round in a row, are twelve beautiful chapels. Item, following the course of the sun, there lies in the first chapel St. Romanus in person, above the high altar, in a very fine coffin.

Item in the second chapel, above the altar, in a coffin lies St. Hilarius.

Item in the third chapel, above the altar, in a coffin lies St. Eugenius.

Item in the fourth chapel lies St. Knaphas in a coffin.

Item in the fifth chapel, above the high altar, lie St. Hilarius and St. Patroclus in person.

Item in the sixth chapel, above the high altar, in a coffin lies St. Peregrinus in person.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 193 'ung crucifix de boys sur sa croix aussi de boys, couverte de cuyvre doré, qui parla, comme disoient lesdicts religieulx, la jour de la dedicasse d'icelle, pour porter le tesmoignige que Dieu, nostre createur, avoit dediée icelle eglise, present ung ladre, qui y auroit esté guery, et se y estoit enfermé le soir pour lendemain matin la veoir dedier.'

<sup>2</sup> Inv. No. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. 204, 'ung autre estuy d'argent doré, en façon de cueur, une chayne d'argent blanc y tenant, et en iceluy enchassé soubz ung cristal la rafle du ladre, qui fut guery de sa lepre par Nostre Seigneur, la nuyet qui fut ladicte eglise dediée, pour porter tesmoignage que Nostre Seigneur a dediée icelle eglise.'



Item in the seventh chapel lies above the high altar, St. Mauricius in person.

Item in the eighth chapel lies St. Osanna in person.

Item in the ninth chapel lies St. Firminus in a coffin, above the altar.

Item in the tenth chapel, above the altar, in a coffin lies St. Eustachius.

Item in the eleventh chapel lies St. Politus.

Item in the twelfth chapel lies buried the outcast man of whom I have written above.

*[B contains none of these additions.]*

Item we were, through influence, allowed into the sacristy above to see the relics mentioned below.

Item in front hangs a rare gold cloth in which the passion of our Lord Jesus is worked, which was presented by a king of France, who married a daughter of Bavaria as his lawful wife. Item there are in this sacristy great wooden cupboards on both sides, which were opened for us. They showed us first: item a large piece, the length of a finger, of the Holy Cross, which is set high up very splendidly encased in gold, surrounded by great pearls and precious stones. Item a large casket, in which were many relics which were surrounded with precious stones and pearls as thick as large peas, sent there by the Emperor Charles. Item St. John Baptist's shoulder-blade encased with precious pearls and stones in gold. Item a tooth of St. John Baptist [Evangelist] splendidly incased. Item the hand of St. Thomas the Apostle, which he thrust into the right side of our Lord Jesus, but I have already seen this in Lesser India, as I have written above.<sup>1</sup> It is shown also in Trier [Maastricht] at St. Servas' church in the sacristy. Item a beautiful little crucifix carved from the wood of the Holy Cross. Item another crucifix carved from the wood of the Holy Cross, which the Emperor Charles was wont to wear on his breast and with which he converted the heathen.<sup>2</sup>

Item two splendid drinking vessels, one is a shell made of a precious stone, in which all poison loses its power, as they say:

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 163 and Inv. No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. No. 4.

the other is a cup made from gems and precious stones adorned with rare and beautiful carvings, which was King Solomon's drinking vessel<sup>1</sup> and jewel. Item the head of St. Benedict finely encased. Item pieces of our blessed Lady's garments finely encased. Item two golden crowns on which are countless masses of rubies, which are greatly treasured, with which a king and queen of France were crowned, and many caskets of relics splendidly encased, the names of which I have not retained.

Item from St. Denis to Louers [Louvres-en-Parisis], a village,  
4 leagues.

Item from Louers to Cappellen [La Chapelle en Servois], a village,  
3 leagues.

Item from Cappellen to Schandelis [Senlis], a little town,  
2 leagues,  
through a thicket.

Item from Schandelis to Vingoin [Ognon], a small village,  
2 leagues.

Item from Vingoin to Verbre [Verberie], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Verbre to Kruess [La Croix-St. Ouen], 2 leagues,  
a village with a small castle. It lies in a wood.

Item from Kruess to Compiniain [Compiègne], 2 leagues,  
a fine town with a beautiful palace, in which, at this time Philip, Monsieur of Reverstich, kept his court. A river runs by it called Dosa [Oise], and before one comes to Compiniain, in front of the forest, one rides close to it on the right hand, leaving Compiniain on the left, to a village called Kack, but it is necessary to cross the river Dosa twice by boat.

Item from Compiniain to Ribecka [Ribecourt], a village,  
3 leagues.

Item from Rybecka to Noyoin [Noyon], 3 leagues,  
a French town. There is in it a fine cathedral to our blessed Lady—a bishopric. Above the high altar lies St. Loy in person without the head, which is shown hard by in the suburb in the monastery called St. Loy's, which is an abbey of the order of St. Benedict. The body was formerly here, but by reason of war it was taken into the town.

Item in the church of St. Loy they show also his anvil, hammer

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 76.

and tongs, for he was a smith and afterwards a bishop, and all the apparatus belonging thereto is also shown.

Item we lay in this town of Noyoin in the Mermaid inn. We were told that behind the inn, where the garden now is, was formerly a palace, which was inhabited by Roland and Oliver, sons of the Emperor Charles. Oliver won the town of Noyoin from an infidel called Korbauwe, and afterwards the Emperor Charles, his father, came there and crowned him as a French king.

Item from Noyoin to Mamme [Magny], a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Mamme to Hau [Ham], 3 leagues,  
a small town with a great and strong castle. A river runs by it called Tzum [Somme], and here begins a district called Firmidoys [Vermandois], which is very flat and fruitful, all subject to the King of France.

Item from Hau to Montagas [Monchy-Lagache], a village, 3 leagues.

Item from Montagas to Rosey [Roisel], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Rosey to Eppehey [Epehy], a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Eppehey to Kamerich [Cambrai], 3 leagues,  
a fine town in Firmidoys belonging to the Roman Empire, but they have a bishop to whom they are subject. The cathedral is called after our blessed Lady. Behind the high altar, on high, is a beautiful and rare casket. In it you see the hair and milk of our blessed Lady. Here at Kamerich begins the country of Hene-gauwe [Hainault], which is subject to the young prince of Burgundy.

Item from Kamerich to Nava, a village, 2 leagues.

Item from Nana to Happey [Haspres], 3 leagues,  
a large village. In it is a fine church in which rests St. Akaijr in person, who worked great miracles on persons who were possessed.

Item from Happey to Valencie [Valenciennes], a town, 3 leagues.

Item from Valencie to Kyfray [Quiévrain], a large village, 3 leagues.

Item from Kyfray to Bergen [Mons], in Hainault, 3 leagues.

Item from Berge to our blessed Lady of Hall [Hal], 6 leagues.

Item from Hall to Bruessel [Brussels], a town of Brabant,	2 leagues.
Item from Bruessel to Loeuen [Louvain], a town,	4 miles.
Item from Loeuen to Diest [Drest], a town,	4 miles.
Item from Diest to Hasselt, a town in the land of Loyn [Limburg],	3 miles.
Item from Hasselt to Trier [Masatricht], a town on the Maas,	4 miles.
Item from Trier to Aachen [Aachen], a town,	4 miles.
Item from Aachen to Coellen [Cologne], a town on the Rhine,	9 miles.

Praise be to God the Almighty Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost that I have completed these pilgrimages in good health, returning to Coellen on St. Martin's eve, as one writes after the birth of Christ 1499, and fulfilling the vow that I made at my departure to seek out again the Three Kings. May they preserve us from all harm. Amen.

Item I will set down here in general the towns, villages and districts which I traversed in these pilgrimages.

DIOCESE OF COLOGNE		DIOCESE OF TRIER --contd.	
	Miles		Miles
From Coellen	4	Trecks Husen, <i>Trechtings-</i>	
Bonne	2	<i>hausen</i>	1
Winteren, <i>Oberwinter</i>	1	Bingen	2
Remagen	2		
Prijsack, <i>Breisig</i>	2	DIOCESE OF MAINZ	
Andernach	3	Ingelhusen, <i>Ingelheim</i>	2
		Mentz	3
DIOCESE OF TRIER		Oppenheim	4
Covelentz, <i>Coblentz</i>	2	Worms	6
Rense, <i>Rhens</i>	2	Spire	3
Bobarden, <i>Boppard</i>	1	Broessel, <i>Bruchsal</i>	2
Hirtzenauwe, <i>Hirzenach</i>	1		
Sent Gewer, <i>St. Goar</i>	1	SWABIA: WÜRTEMBERG	
Wesel, <i>Oberwesel</i>	1	Breten, <i>Bretten</i>	1
Bacherach, <i>Bacharach</i>	1	Smeen, <i>Schmie</i>	1

SWABIA: WÜRTEMBERG—*contd.*ETZLAND—*contd.*

	Miles		Miles
Feygengen, <i>Vaihingen</i>	1	Lornen, <i>Salurn</i>	1
Sweperdingen, <i>Schwieberdingen</i>	1	St. Michael	1
Canstat	1	Neuus, <i>Neues</i>	2
Esslingen	3	WELCH COUNTRY	
Gyspingen, <i>Göppingen</i>	2	Trynt, <i>Trent</i>	15
Gislingen, <i>Geislingen</i>	3	Rauaret, <i>Roveredo</i>	1
Ulm	6	Borcket, <i>Borghetto</i>	25
Memmingen	4	Verona	30
Kempten	2	LOMBARDY	
Nesselbanck, <i>Nesselwang</i>	1	Oistia, <i>Ostiglia</i>	12
Fyltz, <i>Vils</i>	1	Merandula, <i>Mirandola</i>	20
Rute, <i>Reutte</i>	2	Sent Johans castle,	
DUKE SIGISMUND'S LAND		<i>S. Giovanni in Persicato</i>	13
Lermoiss, <i>Lermoos</i>	2	Bononia, <i>Bologna</i>	10
THE VERNER, A MOUNTAIN		Planura, <i>Pianoro</i>	8
Nasareth, <i>Nassereith</i>	1	Lugana, <i>Lojano</i>	14
Eyms, <i>Imst</i>	2	Ferentzula, <i>Firenzuola</i>	10
Landeck	2	Scarparia, <i>Scarperia</i>	14
Bruxen, <i>Brücke</i>	1	Florens, <i>Florence</i>	8
Reet, <i>Ried</i>	2	Sant Cassan, <i>San Casciano</i>	10
Fons, <i>Pfunds</i>	1	Posebontz, <i>Poggibonsi</i>	3
ST. NICHOLAS' MOUNTAIN		Stasie, ?	9
Noders, <i>Nauders</i>	2	Senis, <i>Siena</i>	10
ETZLAND (OETZTHALER MTS.)		Bonuconuent, <i>Buonconvento</i>	8
Mals	2	Sanctum clericum, <i>San</i>	
Slanders, <i>Schlanders</i>	1	<i>Quirico</i>	7
Letz, <i>Latsch</i>	2	Recurus, <i>Ricorsi</i>	5
Turnoit, <i>Naturns</i>	2	Alapalea, <i>La Puglia</i>	9
Moraen, <i>Meran</i>	3	Aquapendent	5
Eppen	1	St. Laurencius, <i>San</i>	
Kalters, <i>Kaltern</i>	1	<i>Lorenzo</i>	4
Termin, <i>Tramin</i>	1	Bulsena, <i>Bolsena</i>	6
		Monte Flescoin, <i>Monte-</i>	
		<i>fascone</i>	8

## LOMBARDY --contd.

## VENETIAN --contd.

	Miles		Miles
Biterbia, <i>Viterbo</i>	9	Venice	100
Runtzelioin, <i>Ronciglione</i>	3		
Suiters, <i>Sutri</i>	4	SUMMA FROM ROME TO	
Monteroiss, <i>Monterosi</i>	20	VENICE 344 MILES	
Rome	20	Parens, <i>Parenzo</i>	24

SUMMA FROM COLOGNE TO  
ROME ARE 103 MILES AND 309  
MILES

Riuiane,	30
Terne, <i>Terni</i>	12
Spolit, <i>Spoleto</i>	12
Forlinio, <i>Foligno</i> ,	10
Noxea, <i>Nocera U'mbra</i>	12

## LADY VENUS' MOUNTAIN

Gayfana, <i>Gualdo</i>	6
Fossata, <i>Fossato</i>	2
Schugillo, <i>Sigello</i>	2
Akostaschaio, <i>Castacciato</i>	3
Alaskaysa, <i>Scheggia</i>	5

## A DUCHY OF URBINO

Cantia, <i>Cantigno</i>	5
Cayo, <i>Cagli</i>	5
Laqualania, <i>Acqualagna</i>	5
Fossabron, <i>Fossumbrone</i>	15
Aphano, <i>Fano</i>	10
Pesere, <i>Pesaro</i>	25
Riuiane, <i>Rimini</i>	20
Sesinagio, <i>Gesenatico</i>	5

## VENETIAN

Scheruia, <i>Cervia</i>	15
Ravenna	100
Jotza, <i>Chioggia</i>	25

## SLAVONIA

Brionia, <i>I. Briuni</i>	5
Pola	15
Tzara, <i>Zara</i>	100

## DALMATIA, A KINGDOM

Lesina	50
Kurtzula, <i>I. Curzola</i>	70
Regusa	100

## ALBANIA

Dulcina, <i>Duleigno</i>	70
Duratzto	70
Saseno	100
Corfoin, <i>Corfu</i>	300

## GREECE

	Day-journeys
Modon	300
Candia	500

## SYRIA

Alexandria	40
Roscheto, <i>Rosetta</i>	50
Voya, <i>Foya</i>	250

## EGYPT

	Day-journeys
Alkaijr, <i>Cairo</i>	10
Monte Synay	3

ARABIA		MACKERON, A KINGDOM OF ST. THOMAS APOSTLE	
SUMMA FROM VENICE TO MONTE SYNAY 2144 MILES AND 10 DAY-JOURNEYS		SUMMA FROM MONTE SYNAY TO CALAMIE WHERE ST. THOMAS APOSTLE RESTS, 102 DAY-JOURNEYS	
Day-journeys		Day-journeys	
Thor	4	Lack	3
THE RED SEA		A KINGDOM LACK	
Negra	5	Besoch	7
Sara	5	Kamerath	9
MAGEMET, <i>Mahomet</i> ?		A KINGDOM	
Meka, <i>Mecca</i>	10	Madagascar	6
Trippa	8	A KINGDOM	
ARABIA FELIX			
Albachua	5	A KINGDOM	
Mogida	10	Phasagar	3
SABA, A KINGDOM		Gamma	4
Schameach	2	Kobalhar	5
Sabel	1	SOURCE OF THE NILE	
Saba	10	SUMMA FROM CALAMIE TO KOBALHAR 38 DAY-JOURNEYS	
Madach, <i>Aden</i>	4	Leuma	3
THE INDIAN OCEAN		Hiere	2
Schoyra	9	Gargisa	2
Nubarta	14	Poro	1
KINGDOM NUBARTA		Aschnachua	2
Argmento	2	LITTLE ETHIOPIA	
Kangera	10	Sabarach	1
INDIA MINOR, CALLED KINGDOM OF MOABAR		Pascar	4
Calamie	6	Jherua	3
		Bara	3
		Kabae	4

LITTLE ETHIOPIA—*contd.*

## Day-journeys

Sosa	4
Zaragua	1

## THE KINGDOM NUBIA

Catadubba	2
Besiasa	2
Dara	2

## ABYSSINIA, A KINGDOM

Esser	3
Schatolea	2
Fiene	4

## ETHIOPIA UNDER EGYPT

Dya	2
Cenobascia	2
Pessulus	2
Antinore	5
Alkaijr, <i>Cairo</i>	1

## EGYPT

Alkangi	1
Belbees	2
Salheyo, <i>Salahieh</i>	3

## WILDERNESS OF ALHISET

Kathia	5
Gascra	2

## THE PROMISED LAND

## Miles

Ebron, <i>Hebron</i>	7 Italian
Bethlaem	1 German
Jerusalem	1 „

THE PROMISED LAND—*contd.*

## SUMMA FROM KOBALHAR

WHERE THE NILE RISES TO	
JERUSALEM	72 DAY-JOURNEYS

## Day-journeys

Bethania	2
Terra russo	3
Jerico	2
Joerdaen	2

## THE DEAD SEA

Quarantana	4
Neopole	1 day-journey
Napalosa	2 miles
Joseph's Cistern	2 miles
Basten	1 day-journey

## SAMARIA PROVINCE

Nazareth	2 miles
Thabor, <i>Tabor</i>	1
Hermon	2
Zaffra	2

## SEA OF GALILEE

Thiberiadis, <i>Tiberius</i>	
	1 day-journey
Cana Galylee	2
Damasco	3
Baruthi, <i>Beyrouth</i>	1
Tripolis	3
Admant	3
Halepp, <i>Aleppo</i>	2

## GREATER ARMENIA

Antiochia	3
Adana	1
Tarschon, <i>Tarsus</i>	3



GREATER ARMENIA— <i>contd.</i>		ALBANIA, A PROVINCE	
	Day-journeys	Stein	
Kurko, <i>Curco</i>	4	Kurtzula, <i>I. Curzola</i>	
Laranta	2	Lesina	
		Sadirss, <i>I. S. Andrea</i>	
KARAMANIA PROVINCE			
Kunio	7	DALMATIA, A KINGDOM	
Burtzia, <i>Brusa</i>	3	Novo, <i>Nono</i>	
Constantinople	5	Paeche, <i>I. Pago</i>	
		Reebe, <i>I. Arbe</i>	
ROMANIA PROVINCE		Asor	
SUMMA FROM JERUSALEM TO		Kerss, <i>I. Chersa</i>	
CONSTANTINOPLE OVERLAND			
41 DAY-JOURNEYS		SLAVONIA PROVINCE	
Adrinopel	2	Albaen, <i>Albona</i>	
		Plaewin	
TURKEY PROVINCE		Medalin, <i>Medolino</i>	
Fylipolis, <i>Philippopolis</i>	3		
Basersack, <i>Tatar-Bazardjik</i>	1	ISTRIA, PROVINCE	
		Paell, <i>Pola</i>	
TRACIA PROVINCE		Parens	
Tobinitza	2	Venice	
BULGARIA SUPERIOR: PROVINCE		LOMBARDY	
Vruskabalna, <i>Uskub</i>		SUMMA FROM CONSTANTINO-	
Pristina		NOPLE OVERLAND TO VENICE	
		93 DAY-JOURNEYS	
BULGARIA INFERIOR: PROVINCE			Miles
Mittrix, <i>Mitroviça</i>		Padua	18
Wolffsdoerne, <i>Vuchitrn</i>		Vincent, <i>Vincenza</i>	30
		Verona	10
SERBIA, A PROVINCE		Piskera, <i>Peschiera</i>	25
Nuewemarschet, <i>Novibazar</i>		Brixia, <i>Brescia</i>	12
Prepola		Kuychgey, <i>Chiari</i>	7
Plevna		Ponthoye, <i>Pontoglio</i>	5
Gotzei, <i>Gottschee</i>		Marteningo	10
Tzernitza, <i>Syenitza ?</i>		Trevilie, <i>Treviglio</i>	2
Nuewe, <i>Novesinie</i>		Cassan, <i>Cassano</i>	18

Duchy of Milan		Dauphiny, a Province— <i>contd.</i>	
	Miles	Summa from Venice to	
Meylaen, <i>Milan</i>	17	St. Anthony de Vienne	265
Puffelora, <i>Buffaloro</i>	10	Miles and 30 Leagues	
Novarra	10		
Fertzelio, <i>Vercelli</i>	7		
Salass	17		
Piedmont, a Duchy		Leagues	
Schauasch, <i>Chivasso</i>	10	Item Romans	3
Turin	5	Valencia, <i>Valence</i>	3
		Loreum, <i>Loriol</i>	4
		Montellinar, <i>Montelimar</i>	1
		Castrum Novum, <i>Chateau-neuf</i>	1
		Parvum opidum, ?	1
		Petra lata, <i>Pierrelatta</i>	1
		Palude, <i>La Palud</i>	1
		St. Spiritus, <i>Pont d'Esprit</i>	2
Savoy, a Duchy		LANGUEDOC PROVINCE	
	Leagues	Balnoin, <i>Bagnols</i>	3
Rivole	5	Valgeer, <i>Couvillargues</i>	2
Avienna, <i>Arigiana</i>	10	Renouin, <i>Remoulins</i>	1
Susan, <i>Susa</i>	3	Besoso, <i>Uzès</i>	2
Novalesa	9	Nemis, <i>Nîmes</i>	1
Cenis, a Mountain		Mila, <i>Milhaut</i>	1
Ullenburg, <i>Lanslebourg</i>	4	Vitschaffo, <i>Aiguesrives ?</i>	2
St. Mijchaele, <i>St. Michel-de-Maurienne</i>	2	Lunela, <i>Lunel</i>	2
Sent Johan de Morian, <i>St. Jean de Maurienne</i>	6	Zambres	2
Aque bella, <i>Aiguebelle</i>	2	Mompaleyr, <i>Montpellier</i>	6
Roschet, <i>La Rochette</i>	2	Lupiana, <i>Loupian</i>	3
Alafart, <i>Allerard</i>	1	Sent Tyberius, <i>St. Thibéry</i>	3
Dauphiny, a Province		Besias, <i>Béziers</i>	2
Guntzelin, <i>Goncelin</i>	4	Capistanie, <i>Capestang</i>	3
Gracionopolim, <i>Grenoble</i>	3	Kabesack, <i>Cabézac</i>	4
Morea, <i>Moirans</i>	1	Pyscheri, <i>Puicherie</i>	2
Tulit, <i>Tullins</i>	1	Trebes	1
Arbene, <i>L'Abenc</i>	2	Karkason, <i>Carcassonne</i>	2
Marcellin, <i>St. Marcellin</i>	2	Pischinge, <i>Pezens</i>	1
Sent Anthoni de Vienna, <i>St. Anthony de Vienne</i>		Alsona, <i>Alsonne</i>	1

LANGUEDOC PROVINCE—*contd.*

## BERN, A COUNTY

	Leagues		Leagues
Villa pint	2	Momminge, <i>Momy</i>	1
Castellum Novum, <i>Castel-naudary</i>	1	Noya, <i>Nay</i>	2
Allaberdis, <i>La Bastide ?</i>	1	Morlantz, <i>Morlaas</i>	3
Sent Martin	2	Borgerbe, <i>Bourgarbe</i>	2
Fionet, <i>Avignonet</i>	1	Artis, <i>Artis</i>	2
Villa Franck, <i>Villefranche de Lauragais</i>	1	Castetin, <i>Castelis</i>	1
Vera Novella, <i>Villenouvelle</i>	1	Ortes, <i>Orthez</i>	2
Faschega, <i>Baziegue</i>	1	Hospitale de Olioïn,	
Monisgart, <i>Montgiscart</i>	2	<i>L'Hopital d'Orion</i>	2
Castlener, <i>Castenet</i>	2	Salva Terra, <i>Sauveterre</i>	2
Tolosa, <i>Toulouse</i>	2		

## BISCAY PROVINCE

Sent Paley, <i>Saint Palais</i>	2
Astabat, <i>Ostabat</i>	3
Sent Johan pede port,	
<i>S. Jean Pied-de-Port</i>	5

## GASCONY PROVINCE

Bibrack, <i>Pibrac</i>	1		
Regofin, <i>Leguevin</i>	1	RONCESVALLES, A MOUNTAIN	
Posedran, <i>Puyodran</i>	2	Burget, <i>Burguete</i>	4
Lylo in Jordaen, <i>L'Isle de Jourdain</i>	2	Ponte de Paradijs, <i>Puente de Paradixo</i>	1
		Raschona, <i>Larrusoaña</i>	3

## ARMAGNAC, A COUNTY

## NAVARRRE, A KINGDOM

Ghimunt, <i>Gimont</i>	1	Pampalona	1
Obiet, <i>Aubiet</i>	1	Iudulay, <i>Cuendulam</i>	3
Marschan, <i>Marsan</i>	2	La punt de regina, <i>Puente Reina</i>	3
Aest, <i>Auch</i>	3	La Stella, <i>Estella</i>	2
Barango, <i>Barran</i>	1	Orbeola, <i>Urbiola</i>	2
Lyliad arbesan, <i>L'Ile d'Arbeissan</i>	1	Lons Zarkons, <i>Los Arcos</i>	4
Monte Scheyion, <i>Montesquieu</i>	1	Viennes, <i>Viana</i>	1
Polioin, <i>Pouylebon</i>	2	Grunea, <i>Logroño</i>	2
Marsiack, <i>Marsiac</i>	2		
Male Burget, <i>Maubourget</i>	2	SPAIN, A KINGDOM	
		Navareth, <i>Navarrete</i>	2



MALEFABER, A MT.—*contd.*SAINT JAMES—*contd.*

	Leagues		Leagues
Ponte Marine, <i>Puerto</i>		Oron, <i>Oria</i>	2
<i>Marin</i>	3	Meranda, <i>Miranda de Ebro</i>	2
Ligundi, <i>Ligonde</i>	1	Popula de arganson, <i>Puebla</i>	
Sent Jacob de la Stego, ?	1	<i>de Argansos</i>	3
Palacium regis, <i>Palaz del</i>		Vittoria	3
<i>Rey</i>	1	Tredies, ?	2
Sent Johan a la camine, ?	2	Galarda, ?	1
Forioele, <i>Furelos</i>	1		
Villa rumpeta, ?	2	THE PORTZEN MOUNTAIN	
Boente, <i>Angeles de Boente</i>	1	<i>Puerto de San Adrian ?</i>	
Castineer, <i>Castanola</i>	1	Trianport, ?	2
Riuidis, <i>Rivadis</i>	1	Secura, <i>Segura</i>	1
Vrsowe, <i>Arzea</i>	1		
Villa Fereire, <i>Ferrieros</i>	2	BISCAY PROVINCE	
Ala Tricasa, ?	3	Villa francka	2
Compestella	93	Leygreige, <i>Legoretta</i>	1
		Tolosea, <i>Tolosa</i>	1
SAINT JAMES		Billaфона, <i>Villabona</i>	1
SUMMA FROM SAINT AN-		Litzauwe, ?	1
THONI DE VIENNA TO THE		Ernane, <i>Hernani</i>	2
DISTANT SAINT JAMES,	263	Maria cruna, <i>Irun</i>	1
LEAGUES			
Burgis, <i>Burgos</i>	2	FRENCH	
Villa ferris, <i>Villa fria</i>	1	Fonta rani, <i>Fuenterrabia</i>	1
Robena, <i>Rubena</i>	1	Sent Johan de limis, <i>St.</i>	
Quinta napalea, <i>Quinta-</i>		<i>Jean de Luz</i>	3
<i>nanalla</i>	1	Biona, <i>Bayonne</i>	2
Monasterium rodila,			
<i>Monasterio de Rodilla</i>	1	BORDEAUX HEATH	
Quinta in bedis, <i>Quinta-</i>		Ternois, <i>Ternos</i>	1
<i>navides</i>	2	Undris, <i>Ondres</i>	1
Barbisco, <i>Briviesca</i>	2	Lauena, <i>Labenne</i>	2
Salinich, <i>Grisalena</i>	1	Sent Besans, <i>Sanbusse</i>	2
Suneta, <i>Zuñeda</i>	2	Magista, <i>Magescq</i>	2
Pancorbo	1	Castet, <i>Castets</i>	2
Amigugo, <i>Majunio</i>	1	Besperon, <i>Lesperon</i>	2

BORDEAUX HEATH <i>contd.</i>	Leagues	POITOU, A COUNTY <i>-contd.</i>	Leagues
Haria, <i>La Harie</i>	2	Larproseman, <i>Apremont</i>	2
Jankelet, <i>Lanquillet</i>	2	Villa Vivia, <i>Viellevigne</i>	2
Herba Faber, <i>La Bohere</i>	2	Monte Tubart, <i>Montbert</i>	3
Liposeele, <i>Liposthey</i>	2	Nantis, <i>Nantes</i>	3
Moret, <i>Le Muret</i>	2	BRITTANY, A DUCHY	
Belin, <i>Belin Hostens</i>	2	Hergerick, <i>Héric</i>	4
Laebarb, <i>Le Barp</i>	6	Notzay, <i>Nozay</i>	3
		Moye, <i>Mouais</i>	3
Bordeos, <i>Bordeaux</i>	5	Bayn, <i>Bain de Bretagne</i>	1
POITOU, A COUNTY		Poline, <i>Poligney</i>	3
Bley, <i>Blaye</i>	3	Sent Pompe, <i>Pont-Tréant</i>	2
Stolies, <i>Estauliers</i>	4	Renis, <i>Rennes</i>	1
Merambia, <i>Mirambeau</i>	2	Sent Gregorius, <i>St.</i>	
Plasack, <i>Plassac</i>	1	<i>Grégoire Thorigné</i>	4
Sent Genis	2	Obivi, <i>St. Aubin Aubigny</i>	3
Poluir, <i>Belluire</i>	1	Besoies, <i>Bazouges</i>	3
Pons	2	NORMANDY, A PROVINCE	
Lazart, <i>St. Léger</i>	2	Portesoin, <i>Pontorson</i>	2
Sentis, <i>Saintes</i>	2	Monte Sent Michaelae	2
Taleburek, <i>Taillebourg</i>	1	SAINT MICHAEL	
Savinian, <i>St. Savinien</i>	2	SUMMA FROM SAINT JAMES	
Tone pottoin, <i>Tonnay-</i>		OVERLAND TO SAINT MICHAEL	
<i>Boutonne</i>	1	ARE 258 LEAGUES	
Getziros, <i>Gué-Charroux</i>	3	Cortisch, <i>Courtills</i>	2
Krosepio, <i>Croix Chapeau</i>	2	Duce, <i>Ducey</i>	2
Rostzella, <i>La Rochelle</i>	2	Pentavena, ?	2
Villa deus, <i>Villedoux</i>	1	Pede de argent, ?	1
Ambroyt, <i>Le Braud</i>	3	Mile, <i>Milly</i>	3
Sent Schenna, <i>Sainte-</i>		Sent Johan, <i>St. Jean du</i>	
<i>Gemme</i>	2	<i>Corail</i>	2
Mottir, <i>Les Moutiers</i>	2	Baranton	2
Bornua, <i>Bourgonneau</i>	2	Labey de Lonley, <i>Lonley</i>	
Greva, <i>La Grève</i>	3	<i>Pabbaye</i>	2
Compeschangere, <i>La</i>			
<i>Copechaguière</i>	2		

## SAINT MICHAËLE --contd.

## FRANCE --contd.

	Leagues		Leagues
Sent Bomet, <i>St. Bomer</i>		Noyoin, <i>Noyon</i>	3
<i>les Farges</i>	2	Manime, <i>Magny</i>	3
Tzeris, <i>Saires</i>	1	Hau, <i>Ham</i>	3
Bellowe, <i>Bellou en Oulme</i>	1		
Briosa, <i>Briouze</i>	2	VERMANDOIS, PROVINCE	
Fromentel, <i>Fromentelle</i>	2	Montagas, <i>Monchy-Lagache</i>	2
Kurtzey, <i>Ecouché</i>	2	Rosey, <i>Roisel</i>	2
Argenten	3	Eppehey, <i>Epehy</i>	3
Jhemis, <i>Exmes</i>	3	Kamerich, <i>Gambrai</i>	2
Schaffayo, <i>Echœuffaur</i>	3		
Notterdam de regi, <i>Rai</i>	1	HAINAULT, A PROVINCE	
Legle, <i>Laigle</i>	1	Nava, ?	3
Tuba, <i>Tubœuf</i>	2	Happrey, <i>Haspres</i>	3
Villa la Parijs, ?	2	Valencie, <i>Valenciennes</i>	3
Vernuwele, <i>Verneuil</i>	3	Kyffray, <i>Quiérrain</i>	3
Sent Lubin, <i>St. Lubin des</i>		Bergen in Hinegauwe,	
<i>Joncherets</i>	4	Mons	6
Dreuwes, <i>Dreux</i>	1		
			Miles
FRANCE		Hall, <i>Hal</i>	2
Sclesin, ?	3		
Hodans, <i>Houdan</i>	4	BRABANT, A DUCHY	
Neapholis, <i>Neauphle</i>	2	Broesselt, <i>Brussels</i>	4
Villa prues, <i>Villepreux</i>	4	Loeuen, <i>Lourain</i>	4
Pont Sent Claewe, <i>Pt. de</i>		Diest, <i>Drest</i>	3
<i>St. Cloud</i>	2		
Paris	5	LIMBURG, A COUNTY	
Louers, <i>Louvres-en-Parisis</i>	4	Hasselt	4
Cappellen, <i>La Chapelle-</i>		Trieht, <i>Maastricht</i>	3
<i>en-Servois</i>	2	Aechen, <i>Aachen</i>	9
Schandelis, <i>Senlis</i>	2		
Vingoin, <i>Ognon</i>	2	JULICH, A DUCHY	
Verbre, <i>Verberie</i>	2	Coellen, <i>Cologne</i>	
Kruess, <i>La Croix St. Ouen</i>	2	SUMMA FROM ST. MICHAËLE	
Compinoioin, <i>Compiègne</i>	3	TO COELLEN 124 LEAGUES AND	
Ribecka, <i>Ribécourt</i>	3	29 MILES	

Summa summarum, miles, leagues, day-journeys over sea and land, great and small together, reckoned at 3942 German miles.

I would counsel each duke, count, free knight, squire and all ranks, ecclesiastical and lay, who desire to undertake this pilgrimage that they observe caution and take with them two purses made out of human skin, and one out of deer-skin, all three well filled with gold below and white money above, so that there is no need to change money in all the towns and villages. So you shall fill the two purses of human skin, one with gold below, which signifies carefulness, and the white money above signifies wisdom. The other, full of gold, indicates patience, and the silver money above indicates humility. You must fill the third purse made of deer-skin with all kinds of gold below, which is current in the country of your pilgrimage, each according to his rank, and white money upon it, which is current in the district through which you travel. You must also buy three strong straps to tie the purses up tight, which straps signify seeing, hearing and silence. Bind the two bundles close to your heart, and the third by the navel, so that they may not be stolen. And in truth, brother, if you do not do this you will not be able to compass this pilgrimage joyfully and without care.

And pray for the pilgrim, guide and author. Amen.





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